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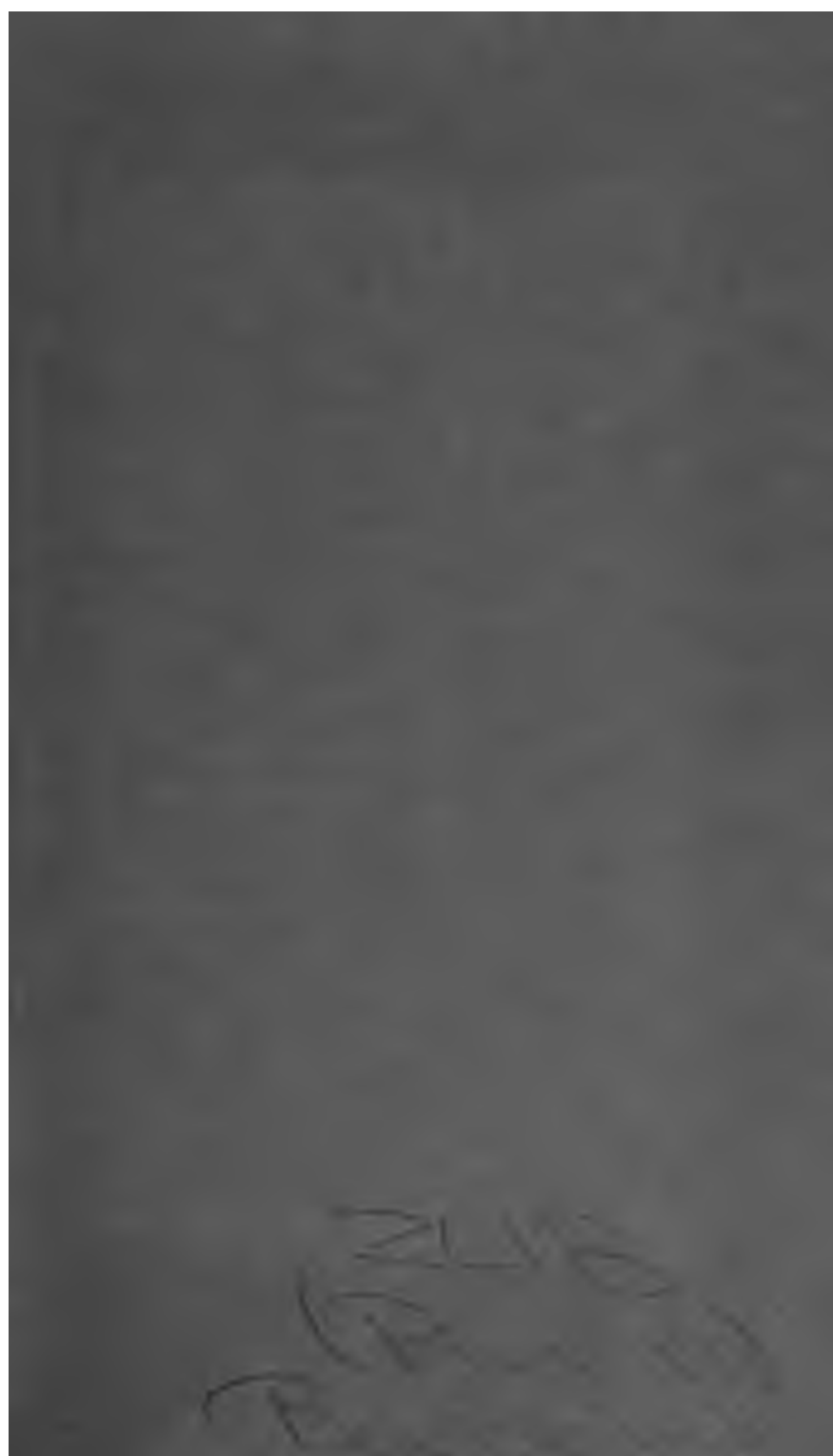
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1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the transparency and accountability of the organization. The text states that without accurate records, it would be difficult to track the flow of funds and ensure that all activities are properly documented.

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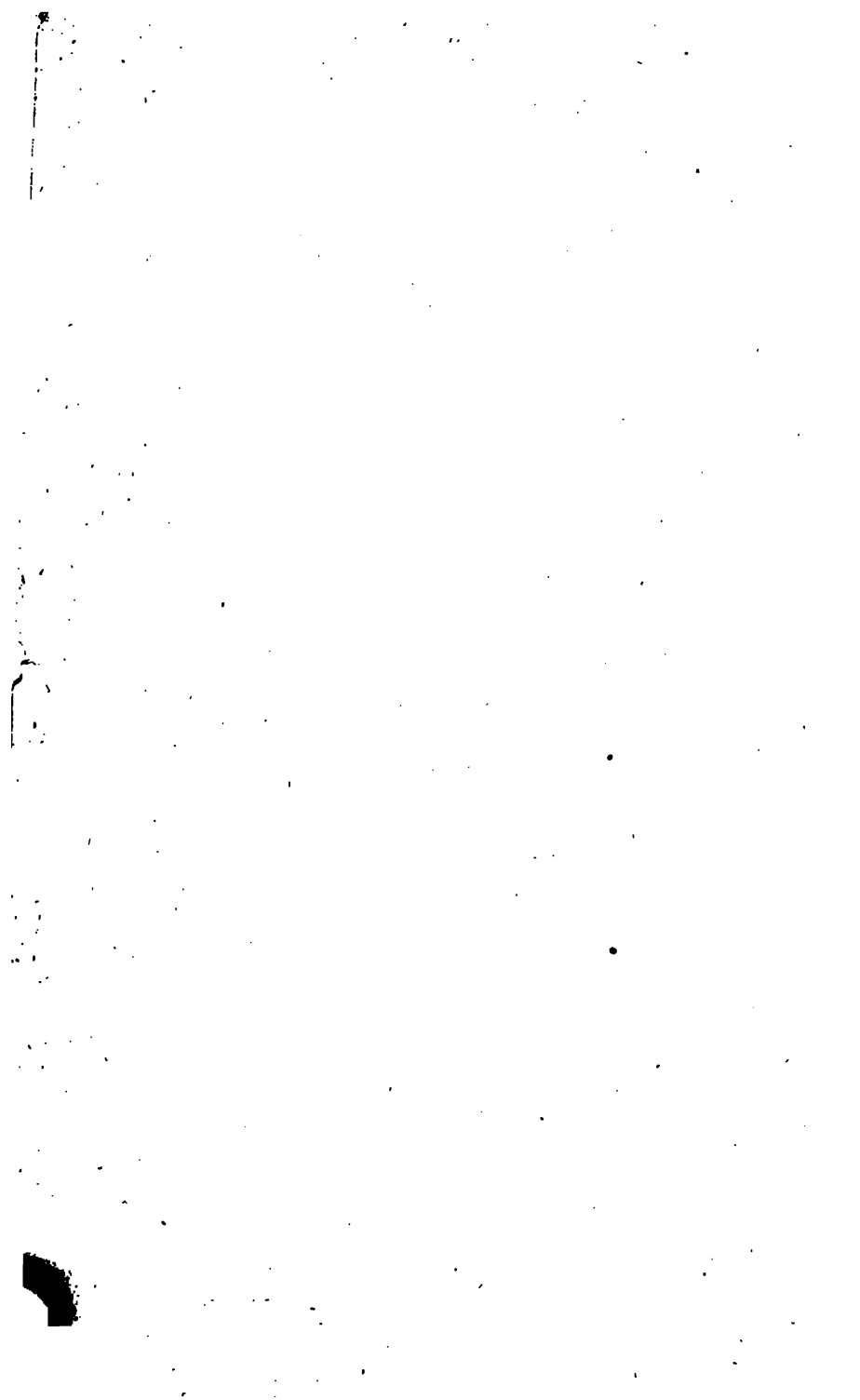
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5. The fifth part of the document discusses the need for ongoing monitoring and evaluation of financial performance. It states that regular reviews of the financial data are necessary to identify trends, assess the effectiveness of financial controls, and make adjustments as needed. The text emphasizes that this process should be an integral part of the organization's overall management framework.

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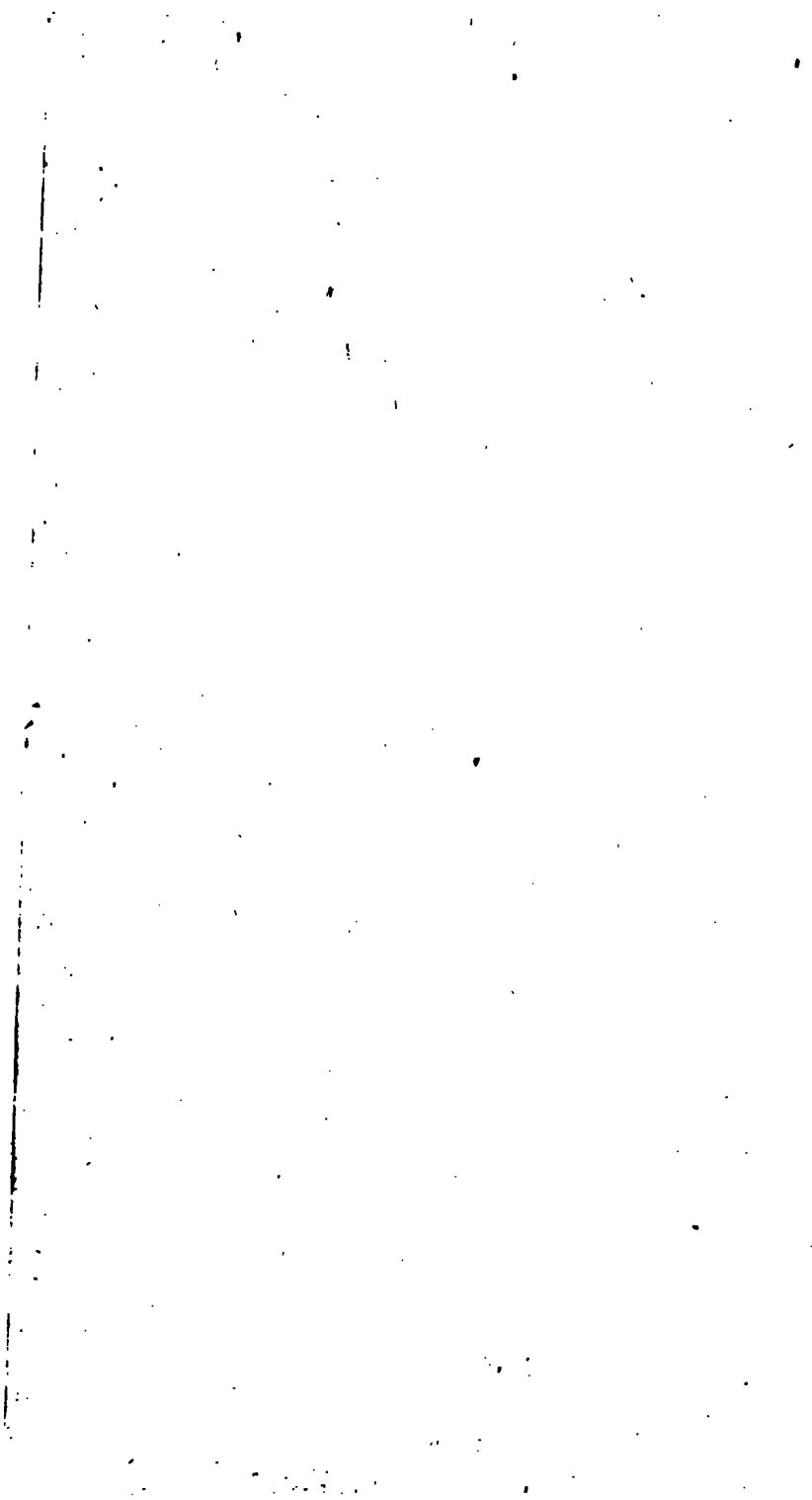
MEMOIRS
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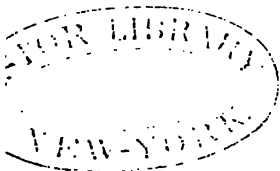
OF

PIUS THE SIXTH.



HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL
MEMOIRS
OF
PIUS THE SIXTH,
AND OF
HIS PONTIFICATE,
DOWN TO THE PERIOD OF HIS RETIREMENT INTO TUSCANY,
CONTAINING
CURIOUS AND INTERESTING PARTICULARS,
DERIVED FROM THE
MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES OF INFORMATION,
CONCERNING
HIS PRIVATE LIFE,
HIS DISPUTES WITH THE DIFFERENT POWERS OF EUROPE,
THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO
THE SUBVERSION OF THE PAPAL THRONE—AND
THE ROMAN REVOLUTION.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.



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HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL
MEMOIRS OF PIUS VI.
AND OF
HIS PONTIFICATE.

CHAPTER XVIII.

*Disputes between the Court of Rome and the Tuscan
Government.*

WITH greater gentleness of manner and superior coolness of temper, Leopold professed nearly the same principles in administration as his brother: and it will ever be considered as a memorable circumstance in the history of the present century, that two brothers, two princes of that same house of Austria whose passions have so often thrown the world into confusion and increased the errors as well as the calamities of mankind, should in concert have undertaken, each within his own dominions, to banish degrading and oppressive prejudices, and partly to

realise that hope, which has so often been disappointed, of seeing philosophy seated on the throne. Notwithstanding a few mistakes, such as must ever attend the first steps taken in a quite novel career, the reign of Leopold will ever be accounted one of the most supportable; and Tuscany, indebted to him for her prosperity, will long bless his memory.

But, to produce those beneficial effects which she still enjoys, Leopold had to overcome many obstacles, to thwart many interests, consequently to create many mal-contents. During several antecedent ages, the court of Rome, with her pretensions consecrated by the credulity of mankind, and the abuses introduced by her ambition cloaked under the sacred veil of religion, stood in the way to oppose all those who attempted to illuminate and regenerate any portion of the human race. Leopold combated her with a perseverance which was finally crowned with the most complete success.

Scarcely was Pius the Sixth seated on the pontifical throne when he perceived that he should find in that prince a formidable enemy. In 1775, Leopold ordained that all ecclesiastical possessions situate in his states should thenceforward be subject to the same contributions as other property; and he fixed the age at which his subjects might be admitted into a religious

order. In the following year he suppressed all hermits who had not privileged hermitages (privileged hermits!), and restrained them all from begging. This was little toward the accomplishment of the vast plan which he had in contemplation; but it was much for a beginning. The court of Rome sighed and murmured: that of Florence continued unshaken in its purpose: nor was this the only mortification that Pius was doomed to suffer from it.

How great was the alarm of that pontiff when, in 1778, he saw the grand-duke revive the ancient pretensions of Tuscany to the duchy of Urbino—collect information respecting the number of persons of both sexes in the different religious orders, and the amount of their revenues—enjoin them to give gratuitously the first elements of instruction to youth—oblige them to a strict observance of the rules of their respective institutions, a slow though sure mode of diminishing their number—exclude them from public places—and render their superiors responsible for any scandalous conduct of which they might be guilty, &c. It is a disgrace to human nature and to the Christian religion that such prudent measures should at any time have been considered as innovations: but they were viewed as so many essays which presaged more serious

reforms, and might therefore well alarm the court of Rome.

Leopold, however, in accomplishing these reforms, was sometimes mistaken in his choice of the means and the instruments he employed. He was in search of a man, at once intrepid and enlightened, who, knowing the true limits which Christianity ought not to exceed, should purify without destroying it, and should co-operate with him in opening the eyes of his subjects without incurring the risk of too violently shocking their prejudices. For, though as much a philosopher as his brother, yet, more moderate in his philosophy, he saw that religion was a useful ally to the throne, that it furnished a support and a supplement to the temporal authority: he only wished that it should not prove its rival. But, to effect this great revolution without any convulsion, he stood in need of agents who should unite prudence with intrepidity. The men who are best qualified for such a task are rather those who shrink from the public eye than those who thrust themselves forward to view. His choice fell on one of the latter description—Scipio Ricci, bishop of Pistoja.

That prelate was noted for his aversion to religious mummeries, as well as for his bold enterprising character. Fond of innovation rather

than of reform, he would perhaps have established the reign of superstition in Tuscany if it had before been unknown. Finding it already established, its overthrow was become the object of his ambition; and he pursued his plan with much greater zeal than discernment. After having successfully passed through his academic course in Tuscany, but not without some mortifications which had begun to sour his temper, he devoted himself to the ecclesiastical profession, and early announced a wish to act a conspicuous part in the world. He was proposed to the Holy See by the grand-duke as candidate for the bishopric of Pistoja, and repaired to Rome to solicit the issuing of the bulls customary on such occasions. There the persons in whose hands lay the distribution of spiritual favours subjected him to various difficulties, which irritated his irascible humour; and he returned to Florence highly dissatisfied with the court of Rome. His complaints, his projects of reform, were in perfect accord with the grand-duke's system: they fixed the attention of Leopold, who listened to him with complaisance, consulted him, and encouraged him in his reformatory ideas. Thus assured of his sovereign's approbation, he immediately went to try in his little diocese the experiment of his philosophic innovations. Leopold, who wished for arguments and examples in

favour of his own system, suffered him to proceed. Ricci now found himself possessed of extraordinary power, which he exercised in a manner that sometimes excited ridicule, and at others shocked the ideas of the public. He bestowed his attention on those minutiae which are of no importance unless so far as people choose to make them so. We will quote a few instances.

His diocese was full of those *stations* which serve to retrace before the eyes of the faithful the different pauses which our Saviour may be supposed to have made in his painful walk up to mount Calvary. Each of them was marked by an image, at the foot of which the devotees stopped to kneel down and pray. One of the bishop's first steps was to reduce those stations to half their former number: upon which the people exclaimed against him as guilty of heresy. He wished to abolish the worship of images: immediately he was branded as a Calvinist, a heretic, an atheist.—In Tuscany, as in every other catholic country, the priests, in celebrating mass, pronounced certain words in a low voice: he maintained that the divine service was intended as much for the congregation as for the priest, and that nothing ought to be concealed from them: he therefore gravely ordained that the clergymen should pronounce in a loud voice all the prayers of the mass.—With the approba-

diverting their produce from its *sacred* destination, had the boldness to command that all sums already collected under these different pretences should be distributed among the poor of each parish. He afterward, without the approbation of the pope, abolished forty useless convents.

He proceeded even farther, if possible; and the pope's pride was particularly hurt by his next step. Pius was scarcely returned from Vienna, and still enjoyed all the illusion of the success of his apostolic journey, when the grand-duke, without alleging any pretext, without any other motive than his own convenience, suddenly sequestrated the rich revenues of an abbey which the pope himself, with Leopold's consent, had conferred on cardinal Salviati. Pius fancied he saw a striking difference between the two brothers: he was not yet undeceived with respect to Joseph's disposition. But how great was the consternation of the zealous supporters of orthodoxy, when they learned that Leopold had abolished the inquisition in his states, and this "*by his supreme authority,*" and of his "*certain knowledge,*"—consecrated forms of expression, which the pope thought himself alone entitled to use in ecclesiastical matters! That tribunal, more moderate at Rome than in any other part of Europe, was so organised, composed, and kept

within bounds, that it was the faithful ally of the papal power without ever becoming its rival. There seemed to exist no inquisition at Rome except for form's sake, and, as it were, to serve as a model to other catholic countries. The abolition of the Holy Office was therefore not in its own nature an unpardonable crime in the eyes of the pope: but, that a secular prince should dare to decree it without the intervention of the Holy See! such an act was, in the opinion of the canonists, an infringement of the rights of the church, which was not to be tolerated. Finally, during the same year the grand-duke, still by virtue of that power which was said to be a usurpation of the rights of the Holy See, declared that all monasteries should be subject to the bishops; that the latter should alone and without concurrence nominate to the vacant livings in their dioceses, should confer prebends, and, in a word, perform of themselves every thing which the See of Rome had assumed the right of doing for them. The *datario* was to retain only the profits arising from the nominations to the bishoprics of Tuscany.

Political quarrels seemed for a while to mingle with those of a religious nature. At a time when the ecclesiastical state was threatened with a scarcity, the legate of Ravenna had prohibited

the exportation of corn from the territory under his jurisdiction. Some Tuscans, who lived by that commerce, having attempted to continue it, were apprehended. The grand-duke assumed a menacing tone: they were released, and he demanded no further reparation. It was for a moment thought that he entertained a more favourable disposition toward the court of Rome. He bore no antipathy to Pius, as a temporal prince: he only was determined to strip him of all his spiritual usurpations, to restore religion to its primitive purity within his own states, and no longer suffer his subjects to grovel in superstition, ignorance, and slavery, which retarded their regeneration.

But the bishop of Pistoja was preparing new perplexities for the court of Rome. He had gained an ascendancy over the mind of the grand-duke by flattering his passion for innovation: and he made a beginning in his own diocese with a degree of warmth approaching to extravagance. The attack he had made in 1781 on the ridiculous confraternity of "the heart of Jesus" had excited numerous enemies against him. He was publicly reviled as a Janfenist, a very serious reproach from the mouths of Italian divines; and he would have been still more grievously abused if people had been better acquainted with his thoughts.

Exasperated by contradiction, he no longer observed any bounds. Thus the world had seen the monk Luthér begin by preaching against indulgences, and conclude by wresting from the court of Rome one half of her empire. During Passion-week in the year 1786 he introduced the use of the vulgar tongue in the celebration of divine service. Soon after, by a pastoral letter he announced the convocation of a diocesan synod, to which he invited all the bishops, deans, and parish-priests of Tuscany. Of two hundred and twenty ecclesiastics who attended that assembly, all except five adopted not only his innovations in the liturgy and in discipline, but also his opinions respecting faith, grace, the authority of the church, and predestination—opinions which, according to the decision of the Holy See, were heterodox. This was going beyond the intentions of the grand-duke, who was frequently heard to say, “I mean to reform discipline, but I do not wish to meddle with doctrinal points.” However, as he less dreaded the excess than the want of zeal in those matters, he overlooked the bishop’s deviations from the prescribed line of conduct. But the court of Rome, as may well be imagined, was much less patient. Already, at the instigation of the fanatics by whom he was surrounded, Pius had prepared against the seditious prelate a bull of

excommunication: but reflection, the fear of irritating the disease by that violent remedy, and the hope that the court of Spain would interpose in favour of the papacy, with-held his hand which was ready to hurl the thunderbolt.

In the following year the bishop of Pistoja repaired to Pisa to wait on the grand-duke, and enjoy his triumph. The populace, every-where and ever the same, had loudly murmured against his innovations: though they forgave his opinions respecting grace, they could not forgive his diminution of the number of images: but when they saw him honoured by the notice of their sovereign, they lavished on him their acclamations. Already Ricci, and another Tuscan prelate, the bishop of Colle, encouraged by these first successes, had announced synods, each in his own diocese. Leopold now thought it was time that he should secure to himself the honour of the reformation, and sanction it in such manner as should screen him from the accusation of usurping the spiritual power. He proclaimed a general synod, whose object, he said in his circular letter, was to prevent the divisions which might result from these local synods, and to establish throughout entire Tuscany a perfect uniformity in ecclesiastical matters. Eighteen archbishops or bishops met in consequence in the Pitti palace. But here an opposition began to

appear, which afflicted Leopold who only fought the good of his country, and which excited the indignation of Ricci, whose sole aim was the gratification of his ambition and vanity, but who now saw his reign at an end. The three archbishops of Florence, Pisa, and Sienna, with ten bishops, refused to adopt the reforms proposed by the grand-duke. The populace, swayed by such authoritative example, forgot their late enthusiasm in favour of Ricci, and soon passed to the opposite extreme. Recollecting that he had, five years before, caused I know not what relique to be removed from the church of Prato, they crowd in tumultuous disorder to the house of his grand-vicar—forcibly take from him the relique—carry it in triumph to the church—cause a mass in honour of it to be celebrated according to the Roman ritual—run to pillage the bishop's palace—burn the archives—vent their fury on the books which are pointed out to them as heterodox—cast them into the flames together with different articles of furniture and the prelate's picture, singing hymns in honour of the Virgin, which were occasionally interrupted by the cry of "It is thus that heretics must be treated!"

The grand-duke thought it his duty to repress these disorders excited by Ricci's enemies. They had been openly heard to observe at his synod

tion of the Holy See, which was easily obtained for such institutions, there had been established in Tuscany a new system of devotion directed to "the sacred heart of Jesus." The zeal of the bishop of Pistoja was inflamed against an establishment which he thought incompatible with sound theology: he wrote a pastoral letter to forbid it, and, setting himself up as a censor of the Holy See, asserted that the pope had suffered himself to be deceived. This happened in 1781, a short while before Pius's journey to Vienna.

Pius, alarmed by these various attempts against his authority, directed a brief to the bishop to recall him to his duty. Misled in turn by his zeal, he used expressions in it which the grand-duke considered as very offensive; and war was declared. In a very energetic memorial which his minister at Rome was obliged to present to the pope, he demanded of him a *speedy and signal* reparation. "The times of Gregory VII. and Boniface VIII.," said the grand-duke, "are no more. Sovereigns will no longer permit the pope to break through the respect which is due to them, or arrogate to himself the right of commanding their subjects." Leopold ordered his minister to depart immediately, unless he obtained satisfaction.

In times less fraught with tempests for the

Holy See, Pius's letter would have been deemed moderate. But Leopold was on the watch for a pretext : his philosophy had grown into a kind of passion ; and the passions are irascible, and cannot brook delay. Yet what was the immediate cause of this great rupture ? A pitiful adventure which ought never to have transpired beyond the gates of the cloisters. There were at Prato some Dominican friars who acted as confessors to a convent of Dominican nuns in their vicinity. This spiritual relation had here, as in many other cases, given to the stronger sex a great ascendancy over the weaker ; and irregularities of more than one kind had been the consequence. Suddenly the hypocritical bishop of Pistoja was inflamed with faintly wrath : he asserted that the Dominican nuns of Prato had been corrupted " in doctrine and morals " by the friars their confessors : and, instead of denouncing that disorder to the pope according to the hitherto established rule, he loudly declaimed against their scandalous conduct, and addressed his complaint to the grand-duke. Leopold seized this opportunity to insist that the Dominican nuns should no longer remain under the guidance of their seducers, and that all nunneries in general should be in immediate subjection to the bishops. Pius thought it a duty he owed to the

dignity of the Holy See to reprimand the bishop of Pistoja for having eluded his interposition. Hence the grand-duke's resentment.

The pope, terrified by his menaces, did not himself venture to pronounce on a question which appeared to him of high importance. He consulted an assembly of cardinals: these took the opinion of the heads of religious orders; and they, apprehensive of greater storms, acquiesced in the will of the grand-duke.

This was the epoch of the most serious quarrels between the emperor and the pope. The whole Sacred College, not excepting even the prudent Bernis, were alarmed at this combination of persecutions ready to fall at once on the Holy See: for the pontiff was at the same moment engaged in a struggle with Russia for the archbishopric of Mohilow, and contending also with Naples and with Venice, as we shall see in the sequel. Cardinal Bernis, forgetting his mild and amiable philosophy, took part with his brethren, predicted the greatest misfortunes to the Holy See, and sighing taxed the imprudence of sovereigns. All mankind are alike when their interest is at stake. On this occasion, the pope was perhaps the most moderate of all those who suffered by these encroachments of the temporal power. Already the cardinals branded his silence with the name of cowardice;

and it was in great measure by their instigation that he was impelled to write to the bishop of Pistoja in that resolute tone which gave such offence to the grand-duke.

Cardinal Corfini, however, entered into some explanations with the Tuscan minister at Rome, which effected an accommodation; and the storm was for a time appeased. But the first steps had been taken: the grand-duke deliberately meditated on his plan of reform, and continued carrying it into execution. The pope was soon convinced that resistance on his part would only make the evil worse, and entered into a compromise on every point which did not appear to him of primary importance. In the course of the year 1782, for instance, he consented to the suppression of seventeen convents in the territory of Sienna. But he speedily repented of those forced acts of condescension, when, in the same year, Leopold, closely treading in his brother's steps, and not even awaiting the result of Pius's journey to Vienna, enjoined all bishops and ecclesiastical superiors to draw out a statement of the different sums of money annually sent from his states to Rome on whatsoever account—to suspend such remittances—and to keep those sums ready at his disposal; and when, after a few months more, he entirely suppressed all contributions of that nature, and,

that it was "an assembly without a head;" to which it was answered, "the grand-duke has a head capable of supplying the place of that of the pope." Leopold determined to convince Ricci and his adherents that they had not been mistaken in relying on his support. He caused the authors of the tumult to be apprehended. Ricci, whether through generosity or hypocrisy, made intercession in their favour. "I must declare," said he, "that, in the heat of that popular ferment, not a single word was uttered against the sovereign. It is I, it is I alone, whom their instigators wish to render odious to these good people, whose simplicity is easily led astray. I am the stumbling-block: it is through hatred of me that attempts are made to defeat the wise intentions of the grand-duke." Leopold wished at least to indemnify him for the losses he had suffered by this persecution, and accordingly created him superintendent of the property of the suppressed monasteries, with a salary of three thousand crowns. Ricci, to prove the disinterestedness of his zeal, accepted the office, but declined the salary. Such marks of good-will, however, confirmed him in his plan of reform. From Pisa, where he was retained by the grand-duke, he circulated pastoral letters by which he ordained that promises of marriage should be regarded by the tribunals as of no effect—abo-

lished the use of oaths—diminished the number of festivals, &c.

Leopold meanwhile laboured to bring over the dissenting bishops to the principles of the three reforming prelates. He was successful with only a few of their number: all the others obstinately persevered in their refusal; and Leopold had in contemplation some serious measures to conquer their opposition.

On the other hand, the resentment of the court of Rome was at least equal to her chagrin; and fear alone compelled her to observe moderation in expressing it. Pius, acquiescing in the grand-duke's demand, consented that Pontremoli should be erected into a bishopric. But, Leopold having proposed to him four candidates, the pope had the courage to prefer the last. Leopold asserted that the pontiff's choice ought to have fallen on the first, as being the man for whom he felt the greatest interest. Pius obstinately refused to comply, under pretence that the first of the candidates was an outrageous Jansenist, wholly devoted to the bishop of Pistoja. This was inviting a new tempest which might become serious. The Tuscan minister wrote in plain terms to the nuncio that he must choose the candidate who had the grand-duke's approbation, or state the reasons why he was rejected, and thereby afford him an opportunity of justifying

himself ;—that his royal highness would not recede from his right of presentation ;—that, if it were contested, he would consider such proceeding as a continuation of the offensive personalities, of the hostilities, which he had for some time constantly experienced from the court of Rome ;—that, in support of the rights of his sovereignty, he would, if necessary, come to a formal rupture, and recall his minister.

This language did not intimidate the court of Rome : it sent to the nuncio at Florence very energetic instructions, and even an order to withdraw if the court of Tuscany renewed its menaces. This firmness was not attended with such consequences as might have been expected : Leopold was naturally of a pacific disposition : he dreaded insurrections, and the dangers of a schism. It appears even that the emperor advised him to yield. This was the epoch when the pretensions of the nuncios made some noise in Germany. Joseph in a fit of resentment intended to abolish the office of nuncio : but thinking it necessary first to take the opinion of the Aulic Council, he was informed by them in answer that the nuncios were authorised in Germany by the constitutional laws, in every thing concerning religion and the canons : whereupon he renounced his project. Leopold did not choose to show himself more daring than his

brother, but, softening his resentment for the moment, assured the pope that it never had been his intention to say any thing that could imply disrespect to his holiness; that his resentment was solely leveled against certain mischief-makers who sowed dissension between the two courts; that he would cause the question which divided them to be investigated in an amicable manner; that he was far from wishing to come to a rupture, &c.

The court of Rome, which had not for some years been accustomed to similar successes, was dazzled by the splendor of its present triumph. But the truce was not of long duration: for, soon after, the pope having prohibited all the books which had appeared at Florence, Prato, and Pistoja, concerning ecclesiastic affairs—Leopold, on the other hand, forbade the reading of the fanatical libels which the court of Rome had caused to be printed against his reforms—books which fostered the spirit of superstition among his people, and had excited them to revolt. The pontiff had the courage to maintain the contest; and, opposing reprisals to reprisals, prohibited the introduction of the Florence gazette in which the court of Rome was frequently abused;—and, what was yet more serious, he forbade the importation of Tuscan wines into the ecclesiastical state.

The animosity of the court of Rome pursued

Leopold even beyond the bounds of Italy. The pontiff had intrigues set on foot in Germany to prevent the grand-duke's election as king of the Romans, at a time when the declining health of Joseph II. evinced the necessity of choosing a person to succeed him. Prompted by so many causes of complaint, Leopold did not feel himself bound to observe any measure. Recalling his minister from Rome, he reverted to his original idea, and, by an edict of the twentieth of September 1788, entirely abolished the office of nuncio in his dominions, ordaining that for the time to come the nuncio should no longer possess any privileges except those which were enjoyed by the representatives of purely temporal sovereigns. Soon after, he forbade, on pain of banishment, all members of religious orders in the grand-duchy to maintain any relation with foreign superiors; declaring them to be subject to the bishops alone in spiritual concerns, and to the lay tribunals in those of a temporal nature. He commanded that there should in future be no appeals to the Holy See; that ecclesiastical causes should in the first instance be brought before the bishop, and definitively decided by the metropolitan, according to the ancient hierarchical order established in the church. This edict reduced to nothing the pretended primacy of the sovereign pontiff.

The alarm at Rome was very lively. The pope immediately appointed a congregation of those cardinals in whom he placed the greatest reliance—Borromeo, a sensible intelligent man, of a very singular turn of mind, but incapable of any over-violent measures against sovereigns;—Palotta, who, under an exterior roughness of manner, concealed a fund of very sound sense accompanied by great probity, and who had in general conducted himself very judiciously toward the temporal powers;—Negroni, who was the most agreeable to them of all the cardinals;—Zelada, whom they esteemed for his gentle manners, his knowledge, and his conciliating disposition;—Buoncompagni, at that time secretary of state, and the most enlightened member of the Sacred College, connected moreover, at least by interest, with the principal catholic courts. This congregation had for their secretary the prelate Campanelli, the pope's auditor. The selection of such men to compose it did not announce an intention of carrying matters to extremity. But Leopold was highly irritated, and, instead of listening to terms of conciliation, demanded the surrender of the nuncio's papers. On this occasion the pope displayed an instance of vigour tempered by prudence. If he had always acted in the same manner, he would have avoided many misfortunes. Although he thought

the grand-duke's demand very extraordinary, cardinal Buoncompagni made answer in his name to the Tuscan minister, that he " would prefer suffering any violation whatever, rather than stoop to such meanness," the papers of a foreign minister being even more sacred than his person ;—that, nevertheless, through a love of peace, he would communicate all such of the nuncio's papers as solely related to matters of conscience. To this declaration, which was more energetic than could reasonably have been expected, the secretary of state joined a protest against the infringements made on ecclesiastic discipline by the late edict of the grand-duke. At Florence the animosity against the pope was too violent to admit of this protest producing the smallest effect : the courier who had brought it returned without an answer. All the opponents of the papacy, with the bishop of Pistoja at their head, saw their victory certain, and thought themselves no longer bound to a delicate observance of moderation. Ricci printed the acts of his synod : soon after, the grand-duke also published those of the provincial synod which he had convoked at Florence in the preceding year, adding to them an apology for the conduct of the bishops, and a refutation of the pretensions of the court of Rome.

That court passed the entire year 1789 in the

midst of storms: and while the national assembly of France was preparing for it much more violent tempests, the court of Florence, not yet foreseeing the consequences of which the latter would be productive to all sovereigns, continued to pursue its plan of philosophic persecution. The bishop of Pistoja did not display modesty in the enjoyment of his triumph. While the congregation, appointed to examine his works, was preparing to deliver them to the inquisition and cause them to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, Ricci, depending on the support of the grand-duke in whose court he acted the part of prime-minister, testified the most insulting contempt for the Holy See, ridiculed its thunders, its pretensions, and its partisans. In announcing to cardinal Salviati that Leopold withheld from him the revenues of a rich abbey which he possessed in Tuscany, he affected to be ignorant of his rank, and addressed his letter to "the priest Salviati." Leopold, on his part, not content with recommending in a circular letter to all the Tuscan bishops to conform to the principles of the synod of Pistoja, advanced temporal pretensions at the expense of the papacy, and claimed the duchy of Urbino, as usurped by the popes from his predecessors.

But the period of the tribulations which Pius had been doomed to suffer from the grand-duke,

was now arrived. An unexpected incident opportunely happened, which saved him from the impending crisis. The days of Joseph II. were numbered: he died on the 22d of February 1790; and Leopold was called to the imperial throne. The reforms which had been introduced in church affairs were now deprived of their principal support. Scarcely had he quitted Tuscany, when superstition regained there a part of the ground she had lost. The provisional regency, established by Leopold under the guidance of Gianni as president, adopted injudicious measures, of which the result was a dearth and popular commotions. The clergy, long kept in subjection, again reared their heads, and for a time resumed their former sway. The regency thought themselves very happy in being allowed to come to terms with them, and left the archbishops of Florence, Pisa, and Sienna, at full liberty to re-establish every thing that had been destroyed. In an instant were seen to revive from their ashes the confraternities, the processions, the altars that had been overthrown, the ancient liturgy, and all the religious mummeries.

But an act of weakness was never found an effectual mean of appeasing discontent. The confraternities, the hermitages, the reliques, did not procure for the people those supplies of wine

and oil of which they stood in need. Some private storehouses were plundered; and the president Gianni could no otherwise save himself from the violence of the infuriate populace than by escaping through a window. Inebriated with fanaticism, the people of Tuscany were on the point of launching into the same excesses as the French nation committed in the intoxication of their liberty. Their fury however subsided when they no longer had before their eyes the principal object of their hatred: and the court of Rome obtained at least a slight consolation amid the evils by which it was threatened, and which itself had provoked. But its triumph was neither complete nor durable. Every thing of an essential nature in Leopold's establishments survived his removal. After the insurrection of the populace, the bishop of Pistoja retired to Chianti, where he continued to exercise his fantastic functions: thence he issued, in favour of all who applied to him, those dispensations for which until then application had always been made to Rome; and, persevering with puerile obstinacy in the prosecution of his plans, he succeeded in substituting a breviary* of his own invention in lieu of that used in the Roman

* A book of prayers used by the Romish clergy, and containing all the different services except the mass.

church. Wife Leopold ! were these the victories which you pointed out to his zeal ?

But the new grand-duke, less ardent than his father, and having, in common with other sovereigns, his reasons for dreading reforms, far from encouraging the bishop of Pistoja, prevailed on him to resign his see. The intelligence of this event was grateful to the court of Rome : nor was Leopold tardy to announce it in an affectionate letter to Pius, to which he thought that slight atonement justly due.

bent his thoughts on despoiling the Holy See of its usurpations.

The duchy of Benevento was sequestrated in 1768. In the following year Tapucci made a considerable diminution in the fees accruing to the Roman chancery: he prohibited the monasteries from making new acquisitions of property: he stripped the nuncio of several of his pretended privileges. It was customary to send annual contributions from Naples for the works of Saint Peter's church and for the Vatican library: these were suppressed. Tanucci even disputed the pope's right to confer benefices within the dominions of the Neapolitan monarch. In 1772 he revived the pretensions of young Ferdinand, as heir of the house of Farnese, to the duchies of Castro and Ronciglione. The displeasure which the court of Rome had given to the house of Bourbon by its conduct toward the duke of Parma, furnished a plausible pretext for these acts both of temporal and spiritual hostility. But the hour of reconciliation arrived: the duchy of Benevento was restored: the presentation of the palfrey*, which had been suspended, was again put in practice. Part of the changes which had been effected in ecclesiastic discipline still subsisted: and when the

* See page 38.

bull for the suppression of the Jesuits—that bull so earnestly solicited and so long expected—was at length published in the states of his Neapolitan majesty, it was with the following clause—“without prejudice to the rights of the royal sovereignty and jurisdiction.”

Pius the Sixth, on his accession to the pontifical chair, endeavoured to cajole the court of Naples: but he soon found that his efforts were ineffectual. Cardinal Orsini, the Neapolitan minister at Rome, who had made fruitless exertions to prevent Pius's election, now resigned his ministerial functions, after having represented the new pontiff to his court as a zealous partisan of the Jesuits.

Tanucci did not need this additional incentive to the prosecution of his plan. He maintained that to the king alone belonged the right of nominating to the bishoprics and abbeys which were of royal advowson, that the pope could, at most, appoint only to those of a different description, and that, even then, he was bound to confer them on persons approved by the king. He confined within narrower limits the jurisdiction of the nunciature, and even took a pleasure in thwarting the pope on subjects of trifling importance. Among the variety of absurd customs introduced by the Holy See, was that of granting a four years' indulgence to all who

during the jubilee should visit four of the principal churches at Rome. A royal edict was issued, which declared, that, to obtain those spiritual favours, it was sufficient to perform that pious formality in four churches at Naples. In this instance the sovereign showed himself even more ridiculous than the pontiff: if he believed in the efficacy of indulgences, he could not, destitute as he was of spiritual power, think himself authorised to determine the mode of obtaining them: he therefore in his turn was guilty of usurpation: but there are countries where philosophy is obliged to compromise with superstition.

Tanucci adopted measures of greater utility: he suddenly suppressed seventy-eight monasteries in Sicily: he consolidated some bishoprics into one, caused abbeys to be conferred by the sole authority of the king, and directed the bishops to fill by their own nomination the vacant livings in their dioceses. It was no longer possible to foresee where the court of Naples would stop: even by that of Spain it was considered as overstepping the bounds of prudence. The Spanish minister Monino was instructed to interpose: but cardinal Orfini confirmed Tanucci in his obstinate perseverance.

At this period the archbishopric of Naples became vacant, and proved the source of a new

Contest between Pius and Ferdinand. The king claimed the right of nominating to it according to his own pleasure; and the pontiff maintained that the nomination could not take effect without his concurrence. Cardinal Giraud, who had materially contributed to the elevation of Pius to the pontificate, and retained a certain ascendancy over him, acted as mediator in bringing this difference to an amicable termination, and without the intervention of Tanucci or Orfini. It was agreed that the king alone should nominate to the archbishopric of Naples, and that, in return, the see of Palermo, which was also vacant at the same time, should be conferred by the pope without the concurrence of Ferdinand.

But when the ground of quarrels is of ancient date, and they are connected with personalities, whatever truces may temporarily suspend them are not of long duration. Tanucci and Orfini on the one hand, on the other the pope's secretary of state and the Rezzonicos, mortified at Giraud's success, sought and soon found an opportunity of breaking that which had been concluded on this occasion. A persuasion was excited in the mind of the pope that the new archbishop of Naples was tainted with Jansenism. To incur such an accusation, it was sufficient that a man were known to be not a friend

to the Jesuits. From a period of above three centuries back, the archbishop of Naples had by invariable usage been decorated with the Roman purple. Ferdinand asked that customary favour for his creature: Pius refused it; and hostilities blazed forth anew. This event exactly co-incided with the wishes of Tanucci, whose bustling disposition instigated him to seek for broils with even greater eagerness than his philosophy led him to pursue plans of reform. He was moreover stung with jealous mortification on observing that the new Spanish minister, the duke de Grimaldi, lived on terms of closest intimacy with his cousin-german Pallavicini, the secretary of state. He was apprehensive of a secret understanding between them for the purpose of inducing Charles the Third to recommend to his son a more moderate conduct toward the court of Rome. The usual effect of opposition on his temper was to irritate him, but never to make him recede from his purpose. Accordingly he sent information to the pope, that a persistence in his refusal should be followed by retaliation on the part of the Neapolitan government; that the archbishops of Naples should never again be permitted to accept a seat in the Sacred College; that they could readily dispense with Roman decorations; that the king would create an ecclesiastic order of which the

members should be clothed in purple after the manner of the cardinals; that, after all, the cardinalian dignity was nothing more than a *superfétation* in the hierarchy, &c.

Pius felt some alarm, and had recourse to paternal remonstrances, the mode in which he usually concluded. His nuncio was instructed to represent mildly to the king that his holiness felt a conscientious repugnance to the exaltation of a Jansenist to the cardinalate. But he experienced an unyielding inflexibility in the Neapolitan court, where Tanucci still maintained his sway. In all his measures, even those of the most prudent cast, a love of mischief bore some share. He studied to procure a triumph for that chimerical Jansenism which excited such uneasy scruples in the bosom of the holy father. The new archbishop of Naples was obliged to erase from the pastoral letter by which he announced his nomination the customary words "*et apostolica sedis gratiâ* *," which would have implied that he was indebted for it to the see of Rome.

About this time a Dominican friar, a professor of theology, wrote a book which the Roman inquisition prohibited under the pretence that it was tinged with Jansenism. The author was

* "And through the favour of the apostolic see."

degraded from his professorial chair by cardinal Boxadors the general of his order, and summoned to appear before him. He obeyed: but scarcely had he reached Rome, when the king—or, to speak more properly, Tanucci—ordered him to return to Naples, to resume his chair, and to write a continuation of his work. The docile Dominican paid equal obedience to this new mandate; and the mortification of the court of Rome was extreme.

Every circumstance now seemed to co-operate in exasperating the quarrel between the papacy and the Neapolitan government. The former had peaceably enough recovered the privilege of annually receiving from the latter a homage which was still more flattering to the vanity of the pontiff than those purely ecclesiastic prerogatives which were successively wrested from his grasp: I mean the presentation of the palfrey.

It is well known that Charles of Anjou, who was in great measure indebted to the protection of the pope for the acquisition of the throne of Naples, wishing at once to exhibit a proof of his gratitude and to sanction his usurpation by the stamp of legitimacy, subjected his newly-acquired kingdom to the annual payment of forty-thousand florins to the see of Rome, and, surpassing in obsequiousness his predecessors of the Norman line, declared himself a vassal of

the sovereign pontiff, binding himself to present to him every year a white palfrey, and entailing on all his successors the performance of that degrading act of homage.

At the period of these transactions the popes stood towering in the zenith of that power which at length gave scandal to all Europe whom they had so long kept in thralldom. It may well be supposed that their arrogance took due advantage of so striking an instance of submission. The servile devotion of the temporal sovereigns even out-ran the pretensions of the Roman see. Those of Naples had prided themselves in a display of munificence as a palliative of their degradation: nor had the popes neglected to claim these homages as matter of right, and to consider the most trifling minutiae of them as an essential part of their dignity. When that was at stake, every thing, even the most ridiculous custom, was accounted sacred; and the guilt of *sacrilege*, as it were, attached to the man who should dare in the slightest degree to infringe it. But neither the name nor the deed carried any terror to the soul of Tanucci. He only awaited a convenient pretext to emancipate the crown of Naples from the tributary subjection in which he had found it sunk. The following was the mode of tendering that tribute, which had in

the first instance been stipulated in a very vague manner by its vile and criminal author.

Every year, on the eve of the festival of the apostles Peter and Paul, at the conclusion of vespers, a kind of throne was erected for the pope in the area before St. Peter's church. A white palfrey was led to him, richly caparisoned, and shod with silver. On the left side of the saddle hung a purse containing six thousand ducats, or a bill to the same amount, payable at sight. Prince Colonna, the grand-constable of the kingdom of Naples, had the charge of presenting the palfrey, which for that purpose was conducted to the foot of his holiness's throne : prince Colonna then gave the animal a stroke with a rod on the fore-legs ; whereupon the docile creature, having been long trained to the performance of this respectful feat, prostrated himself, and again rose. His mission now fulfilled, his illustrious interpreter took the gold or the paper, presented it to the pope, and thus closed the ceremony. The court of Rome was careful to enhance the pomp of the scene by the most magnificent apparatus : and could it do less to honour that remnant of the sovereign supremacy which it once had arrogated to itself over all Christendom ?

The pontiffs, however, had not uninterrupted-

ly enjoyed the proud gratification of this tribute. During the continuance of their grand contest with the courts of the house of Bourbon, the presentation of the palfrey had been suspended: after the reconciliation, the practice was resumed: but even in the second year, in 1776, the performance itself was productive of a scene which might have been followed by its abolition. A dispute of etiquette arose between the pages of Cornaro the governor of Rome and those of prince Colonna, which had nearly interrupted the *august* ceremony. It was asserted at the time that the quarrel had been privately excited by cardinal Pallavicini who was suspected of acting in collusion with the mischievous Tanucci. Such a manœuvre was by no means probable: yet Pius was so far satisfied of its probability that he conceived a yet stronger antipathy to his secretary of state, whom he had never loved, and in whom he always viewed the man who had been his most formidable competitor. However the question may be decided respecting the charge against Pallavicini, Tanucci took occasion, from the scene which had occurred, to propose the adoption of a much less pompous mode of presenting the palfrey and the money. But, for one of his successors was reserved the task of accomplishing something further. Tanucci, bowed down with the weight

of years, soon after retired from the ministry; an event which proved a source of great joy to the court of Rome. The pope however had the prudence to refrain from testifying the pleasure which he felt on the occasion: and it was well that he observed that caution; for Tanucci had relinquished only the title of prime minister, and for some time longer continued to enjoy all the power annexed to the station.

But, before he retired from office, he prevailed on the king to adopt the measure of which the pontiff was apprehensive. The Neapolitan minister was directed to announce to the pope, that, for the purpose of avoiding all future disputes on the subject of etiquette, the palfrey and the six thousand ducats should thenceforward be presented, not by the grand-constable Colonna invested with the character of ambassador extraordinary, but by a simple agent.

We have often seen with what fond affection Pius cherished the pomp of ceremonial. The Neapolitan declaration therefore wounded him in a very tender part; and in his affliction he turned for relief to the Spanish minister, knowing that Charles the Third, when he had not any subject of quarrel with him, sympathised in his distresses, and that he retained considerable influence over the young king his son, and over Tanucci. His complaints did not meet with a

reception correspondent to his hopes. The court of Madrid was not yet certain of his intentions with respect to the Jesuits, and accused him of having given testimonies of his condescension to their partisans. The Spanish minister Florida-Blanca did not conceal from cardinal Pallavicini that he had himself little reliance on the efficacy of his intercession. That minister, naturally of an imperious temper, was extremely impatient of the slightest attack upon what he justly considered as his own work.

Within a very short time after, he was recalled home to occupy the station of prime minister of Spain, and was succeeded in his foreign mission by the duke de Grimaldi. Pius, although he felt an esteem for Florida-Blanca, was nevertheless rejoiced to see himself relieved from the presence of that austere censor. The secretary of state especially was delighted to learn that the post of Spanish minister at Rome was to be filled by his near relative whom he called his protector, and with whose easy disposition he was acquainted. But the pope and his minister were not benefited by the change. The count de Florida-Blanca entered on his ministry with a thorough knowledge of the court of Rome, of its prejudices, of its ridiculous pretensions, and its contests with the Neapolitan court. Till that time he had acted in rigid

conformity to rigid instructions: thenceforward it was by himself that the instructions were to be given. As to the duke de Grimaldi, it was soon perceived at Madrid that he suffered himself to be deceived by the Jesuitical party: and the confidence of the court was reposed in the chevalier Azara, who, at first under the simple title of agent, and after a few years under that of minister, acquired at Rome the ascendancy to which his knowledge and energetic character justly entitled him.

The count de Florida-Blanca—who, previous to his departure from Rome, had been a witness of the profane chagrin excited in the pope's bosom by the threats of the Neapolitan court respecting the palfrey, and had observed him to sigh at the idea that it would perhaps be under his pontificate that the Holy See should be deprived of that *glorious* homage—condescended to exert all his influence for the purpose of saving him from that mortification. His efforts were successful, and the famous ceremony was performed in 1777 with the accustomed pomp. The pope testified a puerile joy on the occasion; and the people of Rome celebrated with enthusiasm what they considered as a kind of victory. That victory however was not in all points complete: and it was easy to perceive that the court of Naples reluctantly yielded to a

foreign impulse. The constable Colonna, in presenting the tribute from the Neapolitan monarch, added, to the solemn expressions consecrated by long custom, these words of sinister omen, "for the present year," and said that "the presentation of the palfrey was only a testimony of devotion toward Saint Peter and Saint Paul." Hereupon the pope, though taken unaware, immediately replied, "We accept the palfrey as a feudal offering due from the crown of Naples:" and the attending crowd applauded this reply by repeated cries of "*viva ! viva !*" Such are the important objects with which sovereigns often feed their vanity!—On both sides some dissatisfaction prevailed. At Naples the grandees murmured, and complained that the advantage so courageously gained by Tanucci was basely relinquished by his successor.

That successor, the marquis della Sambucca, did not however spare the feelings of the court of Rome in other respects: he pursued Tanucci's plan, or rather the spirit of Tanucci continued to animate and guide the Neapolitan government. In the same year all the bishops in the kingdom were forbidden to receive bulls from Rome under any pretence whatever. Notwithstanding the constitutional independence which Sicily was entitled to enjoy with respect

to the See of Rome, the popes, ever dextrous in taking advantage of any negligence in the secular governments, had succeeded in causing their bulls to be accepted by the bishops of that island, and even obtaining the royal *exsequatur*. This abuse was proscribed. The vigilance of old Tanucci would not suffer even in the marquis della Sambucca the slightest derogation from the treaties which bound the court of Rome. That new minister wished to tolerate in the kingdom of Naples two ex-Jesuits, his relatives. Tanucci secretly complained of the circumstance to the court of Madrid; and immediately Charles III., who still continued to exercise his paternal authority at Naples, very seriously recommended to the king his son not to suffer that exception from the general law which banished the defunct society from his dominions. At this period his recommendations still possessed over the king of Naples all the influence of commands. Sambucca's two *protégés* were sent after their brethren into the papal territory. Thus an absent and foreign monarch gave the law at Naples through the organ of a minister who had ceased from his functions: and this singular phænomenon suggested to a traveller who was at that time passing through the Neapolitan dominions, that "the kingdom of Naples resembled the empire of the shades."

The interposition of Charles, however, for some time saved the pontiff from new mortifications, and effected a temporary suspension of his disputes with the Neapolitan court. On each side some slight testimonies of condescension were given. The king deigned to ask the pope's consent to the suppression of a rich Carthusian monastery; and the pope deigned to acquiesce, but on condition that, in taking possession of the property belonging to it, he should make provision for the support of its monkish inmates. The presentation of the palfrey took place in 1778, but with the same mortifying restrictions as in the preceding year. The king had still an existing cause of complaint against the Holy See: the pontiff persevered in his refusal to grant the Roman purple to the archbishop of Naples. Ferdinand lost his patience, and suddenly put a stop to the dispensations which the *datario* still continued to grant. By this measure the pope saw one branch of his revenue cut off: yet he checked the emotions of his resentment, and hoped that time would operate much in his favour: but time was his most cruel enemy; it was employed in maturing the plans of those new hostilities which his opponents were preparing for him, and which the pontiff himself ceased not to provoke by his own obstinacy.

The king of Naples, conformably to preceding

regulations, himself, by virtue of his right of advowson, nominated to all the bishoprics which became vacant in his dominions. The pope refused to confirm his choice, and still maintained that the nomination belonged to the Holy See: he did not however nominate; and thus the dioceses remained destitute of spiritual superiors, and the people murmured against the court. At the same time Pius affected to betray a want of consideration for prince Cimitile, the Neapolitan plenipotentiary, and neglected to cultivate the good-will of the marquis della Sambucca who had shewn a disposition to support him. That minister had sent to Rome one of his sons, whom he destined for the clerical profession; and the pope, under pretence that the young man was guilty of irregularities in his conduct there, refused to give him an abbey for which he made solicitation—as if *the son of a minister* stood in need of personal merit to entitle him to any favour whatever! Never had the scruples of Pius been so unseasonable.

These various incidents had such an effect in exciting mutual animosity, that in 1780 the one party was determined on a complete rupture, while the other looked forward to such an event with resignation. Prince Cimitile, who had for some time been absent, suddenly returned to Rome, and declared to the pope, that, unless the

vacant seat were filled without delay, he would entirely quit his court. The pontiff, who had his alternate fits of firmness and weakness, did not on this occasion suffer himself to be intimidated by the threat: but, mistaking obstinacy for dignified steadiness, "What!" said he to his friends—"that court of Naples treats me with greater contempt than a village priest."

There was a circumstance, however, which encouraged him to that display of resolution, and rendered it less meritorious. He was supported by Bernis and the chevalier Azara: their courts were displeased to see that of Naples betray a greater portion of malevolence than of firmness in the attacks which it made on the papacy. The former, as a cardinal, felt a personal interest in the maintenance of its immunities, of what he called its *acquired rights*. The latter, though more of a philosopher than his friend, as not being bound by the same duties or the same trammels, was nevertheless obliged to follow the instructions of his pious court. In concert they warded off several strokes which the court of Naples aimed at the pontiff; and it was to their interposition alone that his vanity was indebted for a repetition of the homage of the palfrey in 1780. But at Naples the plan of reform was determined: the execution might in-

deed, in compliance with some temporary circumstances, be postponed ; some hopes might be encouraged ; some relaxation might take place on particular pretensions : the hand was suspended, but it still continued armed.

CHAPTER XX.

*New Wounds inflicted by the Court of Naples on
the Privileges of the Court of Rome.*

AT Naples the most alarming projects were in agitation. In 1781 there was question of nothing less than abolishing all the regulations of the Roman chancellery—of sending bodies of troops toward Benevento, and Ponte-Corvo—and (if these menacing steps should not be sufficient to extort from the pope's obstinacy a confirmation of the bishops nominated by the king) of convoking a provincial council composed of all the prelates in the kingdom, and there making choice of three bishops who should be empowered to proclaim, in the pope's name, the nomination to the vacant sees. The court of Spain again interfered to prevent the scandal which was about to be given to all the catholic part of Europe by a sovereign who was accounted one of the most religious. Prince Cimitile was again ordered to return to Rome. There, without the participation of the cardinal secretary of state whose intentions were suspected, the Neapolitan minister negotiated with car-

dinals Giraud and Conti an agreement which for a time dried up the source of some disputes. This transitory reconciliation again procured for the pontiff, in 1781, the so much contested enjoyment of the homage paid to the Holy See on the eve of the festival of Saint Peter. That compensation consoled him for the diminution which he saw effected in the kingdom of Naples of that prodigious swarm of monks, whose number, even to his eyes, appeared in the same disadvantageous light as to those of the Neapolitan reformers. There were found—will it be believed?—there were found sixteen thousand mendicant friars distributed in seven hundred convents. Pains were taken to reduce their number to two thousand eight hundred and eight: the bishops were directed to watch over their conduct, and to repress the scandalous excesses in which they indulged themselves.

A pitiful dispute on a point of etiquette soon after revived the dormant animosities. Prince Cimitile was only a minister of the second rank; and, as such, he had, according to the ceremonial of the Roman court, no claim to the title of *Excellency*, which however is so ridiculously lavished in Italy: but he had a right to it, as a knight of the order of Saint Januarius. Nevertheless they had the meanness to refuse it to him; adding at the same time that they would have

made no difficulty of allowing it, if he had appeared at Rome unvested with a diplomatic character. Thus, because he had the honour of representing his sovereign, he was, as it were, degraded in the eyes of the papacy. Such absurd inconsistency merited no other notice than that of contempt. But the Neapolitan court, equally puerile in their resentment, were so piqued by it, that they resumed the work of reform which they had suspended. They sequestrated several rich benefices; they ordained that for the time to come no person should bequeath to churches, convents, or other ecclesiastical establishments, any legacies in money or immovable property; because, said the royal ordinance, "all those corporations are sufficiently rich." What cool deliberate reason ought to have done, but had left undone, was the effect of a fit of anger.

No sooner did the court of Rome at any time provoke the resentment of the Neapolitan, than it devised some flattering scheme to appease it. Thus in the present year, on the first application made by the queen, a German Ex-Jesuit, father Gürtler, who was her spiritual director, obtained a rich benefice; and, in the warmth of his gratitude, father Gürtler exerted all his influence to effect a reconciliation between the two courts. The negotiations were

re-commenced, and promised to be attended with a happy issue, conducted as they were by such conciliating agents as the pope had employed on the occasion—the cardinals Conti, Negroni, and Antonelli. The two former were attached to the rational principles of the catholic courts: Antonelli entertained high notions of the pretended rights of the Holy See; but he possessed learning, knowledge, and abilities, and had as great an ascendancy over Pius as any one could acquire. Accordingly the mediation of these three commissioners, and the marks of condescension shown by the pope to the sovereigns of Naples, gave room to hope for some success. The parties were beginning to come to a mutual good understanding within a few weeks after the commencement of the year 1782: the palfrey was again presented in the month of June following, and with the usual pomp. The pontiff dissembled the pain that his sensibility received from several measures which the Neapolitan court still continued to pursue. As they did not seem the offspring of a fit of ill humour, they appeared to him less grating; or he saw, that, as they were adopted with cool deliberation, they were the result of an irrevocable plan, and he did not choose to render his situation worse by impotent attempts at opposition.

Accordingly his holiness affected an appearance of resignation on receiving the intelligence that one of the principal bulwarks of the papacy—the tribunal of the Holy Office—was falling to ruin in almost every part of Italy; that in Sicily, more particularly, the sentence of abolition pronounced against it by a philosophic vice-roy, the marquis of Caraccioli, had excited, not the indignation of the people as might have been expected, but their enthusiastic joy; that it was with difficulty they had been restrained from demolishing the former palace of the inquisition; that the statue of Saint Dominic, so appositely placed at the entrance of that den, had been broken to pieces by the enraged Sicilians; that all the papers of the Holy Office had been committed to the flames, all its property confiscated to the benefit of the crown, and the episcopal tribunals commissioned to take exclusive cognisance of those offences which until then had belonged to its jurisdiction.

At the same period the court of Naples inflicted other and still more painful wounds on the papacy. It declared that every religious order, whose general resided at Rome, should be released from all subjection to him; it forbade the members of those orders to receive from the court of Rome those irregular bulls which arbitrarily conferred on them ecclesiastic titles with-

out the king's concurrence: it granted to the United Greeks, who were very numerous in Sicily, a bishop of their own sect; and exclusively nominated him. And it was only by the public voice of fame that Pius was apprised of all these transactions!

During the course of these events the archbishop of Naples died without having obtained the cardinal's hat. The petty triumph which this circumstance afforded, somewhat assuaged the mortifying sensations of the pontiff's breast. The king nominated to the vacant see the bishop of Calvi, a man of ducal family, monsignor Joseph Capece Zurlo. He had been a member of the religious order of the Theatins, that order for which the Neapolitan court still retained a peculiar affection. He at least, who was an intolerant and fanatical priest, could not appear objectionable in the eyes of the papacy. Probably the king thought him only devout; and surely that could not prove a ground of exclusion for him any more than for the queen. Accordingly the pope had no excuse to plead in opposition to his election.

In electing him, nevertheless, the king had decided a question which the pope considered as yet undecided. The pontiff, however, neither choosing to acknowledge the king's right; nor willing to sound the charge for a new contest,

confirmed the new archbishop without expressing in his bull by whom he had been nominated. But this last effort quite exhausted his patience, which entirely failed him when the Neapolitan monarch elevated to the bishopric of Potenza a certain Andrea Serrao, the author of a tract which, according to the decision of the Holy See, breathed the spirit of Jansenism—that is to say, defended the rights of sovereigns against the pretensions of the court of Rome. Pius with persevering obstinacy refused to proclaim his election. In vain Serrao repaired to Rome, requested a private audience of the pope, retracted in some measure the assertions which might have given him offence: Pius continued inflexible. The court of Naples was again exasperated, and commanded Serrao to remain at Rome in the Neapolitan minister's hotel until he should have overcome the opposition of the Roman chancellery. But it was all to no purpose. The royal *fiscal* being consulted on this affair, pursuant to his advice the bishop of Potenza was put in possession of one third of the income of his see, that he might be enabled to act with due dignity his part of suitor at the court of Rome. This was treating the stubborn pontiff with great moderation: but his obstinacy was incurable: his best friends no longer recognised him as the same man that he

had once been: they saw him, shunning their prudent counsels, resign himself to the treacherous guidance of his obscure theologists—of a Mammachi and a Zaccaria—instead of consulting those cardinals in whom he had at first appeared to place some confidence.

The year 1783 commenced under circumstances of the most inauspicious aspect to him. Even Spain, that had hitherto been his principal support against the hostilities of the court of Naples, now took part with that court in opposition to him. The Neapolitan minister, highly disgusted with the personal mortifications which he had been obliged to endure, had quitted Rome. The chevalier Azara was commissioned to supply his place; and the pope was not benefited by the change. The Spanish minister spoke to him with a frankness which ought to have alarmed him. “It was time,” he said, “to put an end to those refusals which in the beginning had been only ridiculous, but which might ultimately terminate in fatal consequences. Why drive the Neapolitan court to extremities? Did it not possess various means of wreaking its vengeance? could it not put in execution a plan which it had already conceived—that of causing the new bishop of Potenza to be confirmed, according to the ancient discipline, by three bishops of the coun-

“ try, and thus dispensing with the interposition
 “ of the See of Rome? The repugnance, more-
 “ over, which that court felt to the performance
 “ of the annual homage, was well known: why
 “ then furnish it with an additional motive for
 “ completely emancipating itself from the ob-
 “ noxious ceremony? and did his holiness wish
 “ to incur the self-reproach of having by his own
 “ mismanagement forfeited a prerogative so flat-
 “ tering to his vanity?”

Pius, however, was so obstinate, and so ill ad-
 vised, that even this last argument did not shake
 him in his purpose. He insisted that Serrao
 should make recantation of his *dangerous* maxims
 in a particular formula which he himself would
 dictate to him. The court of Naples, wearied
 by these vain quibbles, sent information to the
 pontiff, that, unless Serrao were proclaimed
 without delay or restriction, measures of ex-
 tremity should immediately be adopted, which
 his holiness would have reason to regret. The
 crisis was now become more alarming than at
 any former period, and Pius began to be inti-
 midated.

He felt the necessity of calling in the aid of
 counsellors somewhat more influential than those
 to whom he had before given his confidence.
 He therefore intrusted the interests of the Holy
 See to the hands of cardinals Antonelli, Albani,

Boschi, Zelada, and Cafali. We have already made known the character of Antonelli. Albani was dean of the Sacred College, possessed some abilities and considerable influence, and was one of the partisans of the defunct society. Boschi was a man endowed with information, prudence, a luminous understanding, and liable to no other imputation than that of a remaining attachment to the Jesuits. We have more than once spoken of Zelada, who was acute, enlightened, but of an essentially mild and conciliating disposition. Finally, Cafali was a creature of the Jesuits, little inclined to toleration, rigidly inflexible, but of severe probity.

Such were the five counsellors intrusted with the critical negotiation. They conducted it with honesty and dexterity, and succeeded in removing the chief obstacle that stood in the way of its happy conclusion. The pope at length consented to proclaim not only the bishop of Potenza, but also twenty-one other prelates who had been nominated by the king. Much time had already been lost in deciding whether a bishop should be proclaimed in this manner or in that: but the source of theologic subtilties was not yet exhausted. Pius considered himself as having made a great effort, and expected to reap the reward of what he had done: in short, he hoped to regain in few days all the ground

that so numerous reforms and so many dangerous publications had caused him to lose, Serrao had given scandal by his heterodox assertions: he must now give edification by a profession of faith very authentic, very circumstantial.—“But, will it not be sufficient,” asked the good bishop of Potenza, “if I exculpate myself from the imputations brought against me, and acknowledge the pope as the supreme head, and centre of unity, of the catholic church?”—This was not enough to satisfy Pius, who liked to enter into particulars. He insisted that Serrao should give verbal answers to eleven questions which he proposed to him, and of which almost every one afforded proof that his holiness was very imperfectly acquainted with the spirit of the times. Benedict XIV., even Ganganelli himself, would have kept them confined within the privacy of their own bosoms, because they were sensible that there are certain delicate chords which will not bear to be touched. The following are some of those questions: and from them the world may judge of the degree of intellectual illumination possessed by the wisest members of the Sacred College.

“Do you feel a sincere veneration for the Holy See? Do you acknowledge in the pope an entire and *unlimited* authority over every

" thing connected with the maintenance of religion and ecclesiastical discipline ?

" Have you never attempted to infringe the bull *Unigenitus* ?

" Do you think that the Italian catechism; attributed to Monsieur de Fleury, stands in need of correction ?

" Do you approve of the religious societies confirmed by the Holy See ? and do you think, that, while they punctually follow the rules of their respective institutions, they may be useful to the church ?

" Have you ever disapproved of the possession of church property when it is duly administered ?

" Do you intend to submit your public conduct to the inspection and judgement of the Holy See ?"

Was it possible that Pius could have flattered himself with a hope that these questions should meet the approbation of the Neapolitan court, on whose measures they passed an indirect censure ? The event proves, that, on this as on many other occasions, he had been deficient in foresight. The king's ministers and theologists being consulted, unanimously declared in answer that the pope's summons was an innovation, and even an insult to the king, as likewise to

the bishop, who had never afforded any room for affixing on him a suspicion of heresy; that the questions themselves confounded the limits of the two powers, and infringed the rights of the temporal sovereignty. The Neapolitan minister received order to represent the matter in this light to the pope, and to inform him that if he would not be satisfied with the declaration offered by the bishop of Potenza, his majesty would recall him from his embassadorial mission, and adopt other measures in that common cause which equally interested all the catholic governments. At the same time an injunction was laid on the bishop of even adding to his declaration that it was not to be otherwise understood than in a sense conformable to the rights of sovereignty and the constitutional laws of the Two Sicilies.

Thus, instead of a triumph from that mistaken measure, Pius reaped a refusal, mortifications, and new menaces. Too late he perceived that it was again necessary to yield: and the cardinals, on being consulted, advised him to make a virtue of the necessity. Zelada, uniformly consistent in his conciliatory disposition, most of all contributed to determine the pontiff's compliance. On those terms the ridiculous ceremony of the palfrey was again performed that year.

In the year following, the Neapolitan court proceeded in the suppression of monasteries, and the reformation of some of those numerous abuses which are ever the unfailing fruits of sacerdotal influence. In its conduct was discernible a mixture of philosophy, of religious veneration for some objects which it thought respectable, of tenderness for others which the people would not tamely have suffered to be wrested from them, and which even the sovereign authority itself was interested in supporting. Hence those half-measures, which prove either a want of capacity to embrace a plan in its whole extent, or a want of strength and courage to carry it into execution. Too little was done toward enlightening the people; enough, to afflict the court of Rome. The king prohibited all future application to it for dispensations: he asserted his right of advowson over all the churches in his dominions: nothing more was left to the pope than the privilege of consecrating and giving his benediction to prelates, and convoking councils. To the king was reserved the care of presiding at elections, protecting the clergy, and disposing of the surplus of all church revenues for the benefit of the poor: to the bishops was given the faculty of granting matrimonial dispensations in all degrees of consanguinity, and of exercising over all the religious

orders a jurisdiction uncontrolled by concurrence or appeal.

The pope, thoroughly convinced of his own impotence, thought himself still happy that even his interposition was in any case desired. The king of Naples, wishing to relieve the distresses in which the unfortunate inhabitants of Apulia and Calabria had recently been involved—pious foundations, devotional legacies, the excess of the clerical revenues, were naturally marked out for those offices of humanity, or, if you please, of Christian charity. The Roman pontiff, whose consent might have been deemed altogether superfluous, was invited to give his sanction to those measures. With prompt alacrity he acquiesced in the wishes of the Neapolitan court, and even stretched his condescension so far as to permit that all the clergy in the kingdom should for the same benevolent purpose be subjected to a tax in proportion to their abilities. It might have been asked on which side the condescension really existed—in the monarch who solicited such permissions, or in the pope who granted them? But, what will perhaps appear yet more astonishing, the Neapolitan clergy showed themselves less tractable than the head of the church himself appeared. Conscious of the strength he derived from this concurrence of the spiritual with the temporal authority, the king conceived

that he might without scruple or danger suppress a great number of convents in Calabria. The priests had the boldness to oppose the suppression, and grounded their disobedience on the famous bull *In cœna Domini*, which, among other political heresies, contains this principle, that "whoever does not respect the inviolability of the property of the clergy, is stricken with anathema." The court of Rome were strongly suspected of a secret agency in that resistance: but the king had their overt consent; and, availing himself of that advantage, he ordained that all those who, in opposition to his edicts, should appeal to that bull which was so justly proscribed, should be deprived of their temporal property and treated as foreigners, and that whoever should print and publish it, should be punished as guilty of a crime against the state.

This measure was not a little bold for an Italian sovereign, and especially for a prince of religious character. Ferdinand nevertheless proceeded yet farther. Of a hundred and thirty-nine bishoprics in the monarchy of the Two Sicilies, only twenty-six were acknowledged to be of royal advowson: all the others had till this time been subject to the pope's nomination. Suddenly the king of Naples, encouraged by the example of his brother-in-law, revived

his claim to the right of indiscriminately nominating to all the episcopal sees in his dominions. The influence of the court of Madrid, which had for some time repressed that pretension, was beginning to lose its former weight: the Neapolitan monarch, as he advanced in age, was grown weary of continuing subject to the control of Charles III., his father: the queen also was very impatient of that yoke; and the chevalier Acton, who already enjoyed considerable authority, encouraged the royal pair in their resistance. There even existed a very violent animosity between that minister and the count de Florida-Blanca; and, as they governed their respective courts with almost despotic sway, a coolness had taken place between the Spanish and Neapolitan sovereigns, which was each moment liable to degenerate into an open quarrel.

While affairs were thus circumstanced, the cardinal de Bernis, in May 1784, paid a visit to Naples. The queen reposed, or at least affected to repose, equal confidence in his intellects and his intentions. Bernis, by his frankness and conciliating dexterity, succeeded in accomplishing a partial reconciliation, which however was soon followed by more violent storms: — but these do not properly belong to our subject.

During a fortnight that Bernis spent at the court of Naples, he had occasion to plead the cause of the papacy; and he performed the task with that insinuating address which was so natural to him, and which did not appear to fail in its effect on the queen of Naples, though herself so eminently skilled in that kind of seduction. He spoke however in the language of an ecclesiastic prince, which, notwithstanding all his philosophy, he understood as well as any of his brethren. The Holy See, he observed, had already gratified the Neapolitan court with numerous sacrifices: if the latter required further concessions of that kind, it must expect to meet with considerable repugnance. A short time before Bernis' arrival, a fit of peevishness had produced the effect of breaking off a negotiation which had been commenced respecting the principal grounds of the dispute: for peevishness had great influence in all the determinations of that unsteady and capricious court. Bernis, however, succeeded not only in removing all the prejudices which stood in the way of pacification, but also in gaining attention to what he had to propose. He obtained, that, at the approaching festival of the holy apostles, the pontifical vanity should again be feasted with the homage of the palfrey: he extorted

some vague promises, and carried back to Rome some hopes which the pope participated, but which were soon disappointed.

No long time elapsed before the pontiff learned that an almost unlimited use was made of the bull by which he had authorised the suppression of some monasteries, and the incorporation of others into one. That measure had been pursued to such lengths, that it had, in the language of the Roman court, degenerated into a perfect system of *robbery*. The nuns of the suppressed convents had renounced the rules of their order, and, released from the confinement of the cloister, exhibited to the world the *scandalous* spectacle of a secular life. Some good souls had sent to Naples a sum of money destined for the canonisation of I know not what female saint. That sum was diverted from its *sacred* destination, and applied to the purchase of corn. Could such a sacrilege be pardoned? And it was at the same epoch that the Neapolitan monarch; to fill up the measure, renewed his pretensions to the right of nominating to all the bishoprics in his dominions.

The pope thought it again necessary to have recourse to the court of Spain: he first applied to its minister, Azara; and gave him unlimited powers to terminate the disputes between the papacy and the king of Naples. The Spanish

minister determined to prove that his holiness's confidence was not in this instance misplaced. The chevalier Aſton at the very commencement of the buſineſs ſhewed himſelf ſufficiently diſpoſed to labour at an accommodation. Strong prepoſſeſſions were entertained againſt him as well at Madrid as at Verſailles: he wiſhed to evince by his conduct that he was not ſo averſe to conciliation as he was accuſed of being; and from theſe favourable ſymptoms the court of Rome conceived ſome hopes. It was moreover ſupported by the marquis della Sambucca, who, forgetting his private cauſes of complaint againſt the pope, remembered that he was indebted for his promotion to the ſolicitations of that court and the intrigues of the Jeſuits.

But the joy of Pius was ever deſtined to be of ſhort duration. Scarcely had he begun to reſume ſome confidence when he learned that meaſures were continued in Calabria to an extent far exceeding his intentions; that the churches and other eccleſiaſtic foundations which had ſurvived the diſaſters of that province, were ſeculariſed, and that the property which had belonged to them was applied by the king of Naples to eſtabliſhments of public utility. If Pius had entertained ſounder notions of policy, if his charity had been greater than his devotion and his ſelfiſhneſs, he would have ap-

plauded these changes : but, viewing them in no other light than as additional infringements of his rights and of the immunities of the church, he felt them as so many deep wounds inflicted on his bosom. His comforter Azara advised him to have direct recourse to the interposition of the king of Spain. Charles III. accordingly interposed at Naples through the medium of the marquis della Sambucca, in whom he cared for the rival and the enemy of the chevalier Aſton.

It was customary with Pius to go every year, in the spring season, personally to visit the works at the Pontine marshes, and to spend a few days at Terracina near the frontier of the kingdom of Naples. It was a relaxation, a diversion from his chagrins, a feast to his self-love. La Sambucca caused a proposal to be made to him that he should take advantage of that journey, to treat in person respecting the affairs on which the two courts were yet divided. For that purpose la Sambucca was to repair to Terracina : but, previously to the interview, he wished that some principal points should be settled, especially that some accommodatory medium should be adopted respecting the nomination to bishoprics ; that the pope should acknowledge the king's right to it, with some modifications. Pius listened to these propositions, and, through the organ of the chevalier Azara, said that he

would be found "very reasonable:" but he represented that the points on which his concession was required antecedently to all negotiation, were precisely those which were to be discussed. La Sambucca insisted on their preliminary admission, and confidentially intimated to the Spanish minister, that, if his holiness set out without having given a previous assurance to that effect, he would only expose himself to a failure in the object of the interview, and prepare a triumph for his enemy Acton, whose apparent good will to the court of Rome had been but transitory. "No!" replied Pius to the Spanish minister, "I cannot consent to an absolute and unlimited nomination: the wound would be too surely mortal. But why might not the king consent to a modification? why not allow me the faculty of choosing one of three candidates whom he should propose to me?"

The chevalier Azara was not a little astonished to observe the persevering uniformity with which he was particularly singled out as the interpreter on these occasions—he, who had been so severely calumniated at Naples, who had been represented to the king and queen as a stern intractable man, and a fomenter of discord between them and the Spanish monarch. But he was candid and honest: he felt an at-

tachment to the pope ; and, although in his own mind he could justly appreciate the pontiff's pretensions, he aided him to the utmost of his power at the court of Naples. He assured the royal pair that he persisted in the disposition to serve them with zeal, but at the same time represented to them that they must not expect to gain at the first onset the very object which was the ground of the contest. La Sambucca was inflexible. " If the articles on which " I insist," said he, " be not determined, I will " not go to Terracina." The indignation of the pope was roused by this obstinacy : but reflection, aided by the counsels of the chevalier Azara, calmed his passion ; and he pledged his word that he would consent, provided such a complexion were given to the business as should at least save his honour. It appears that la Sambucca was not satisfied with these vague assurances : for, though Pius set out for Terracina on the 9th of May (1785), the proposed interview did not take place.

CHAPTER XXI.

Mortifications received by Pius from the Court of Naples.—Abolition of the Homage of the Palfrey.

TOWARD the same period Pius experienced from the Neapolitan sovereigns a mortification which he sensibly felt. On the 30th of April they embarked for Legorn, whence they proceeded to the northern parts of Italy, openly affecting to avoid passing near the sovereign pontiff. Considering the footing on which they then stood with him, an interview would have been embarrassing ; and they were not sorry to give him that indirect proof of their dissatisfaction. They were accompanied by the grand-duke of Tuscany, and met the emperor at Parma. The only town of the papal territory in which they stopped was Bologna, where the legate, cardinal Buoncompagni who afterward became secretary of state, received them with that nobleness of manner which was his characteristic feature. They were sensibly pleased with his reception, visited the curiosities of the town, behaved with the most winning politeness ; but

not a word was said concerning their disputes with the Holy See. Pius was tempted to send his nephew to them at Pisa, to invite them to pass through Rome on their return. But it was insinuated to him that such a step would only be a gratuitous and unavailing derogation from his dignity. The Neapolitan sovereigns returned to their own dominions without affording him any token of their remembrance.

After their return they gave him new inquietudes. They received fourteen chests filled with the plate of the suppressed churches, which they sent to the mint: they treated canonries as dignities of a purely temporal nature, and disposed of them without the concurrence of the papacy: they supported the religious orders in their independence of their generals residing at Rome. After such measures, there remained, in the opinion of the pontiff, but one more step to heresy, or at least to schism.

During these transactions cardinal Pallavicini died; and the choice of a successor to replace him was attended with embarrassment. The mind of Pius, as we shall presently see, was prepossessed against cardinal Buoncompagni: but he sacrificed his repugnance to various considerations, especially to the hope that, as the cardinal was agreeable to the court of Naples, he might there render service to the Holy See.

Accordingly one of the first steps of the new secretary of state was to repair to Naples : but, instead of exhibiting himself to advantage in an amiable and winning character which he was very capable of assuming, he appeared in no other than that of the cardinal and the minister. He returned from his fruitless mission, leaving in his stead a Milanese prelate, who, more seriously employed in political affairs than in religious discussions, succeeded in determining the boundaries of the two states between Abruzzo and Umbria. But the ecclesiastic disputes were becoming more and more embittered : in this same year the king further prohibited his subjects to receive any indulgences from Rome without his sanction. Our grand-children will smile when informed that even so late as the year 1785 it required an exertion of courage in a sovereign to subject a tribute of that kind to the control of his authority.

The situation of the pontiff, with respect to Naples, became yet worse at the commencement of the year 1786. La Sambucca, his only remaining support, was at length obliged to yield in the struggle against the chevalier Aëton. The interests of the papacy thenceforward depended on the marquis del Marco, minister of justice and of ecclesiastic affairs. Formed in the school of Tanucci, and a devoted creature of the

chevalier Acton, he had, in addition to his natural duplicity of character, no other talents to recommend him than a blind submission to the will of that chief minister, and to the court of Rome a great stock of malevolence which he mistook for philosophy. An antagonist much more formidable — because he was really a philosopher, and had during his Sicilian viceroyalty exhibited proofs of his boldly reforming spirit — was the marquis Caraccioli, who succeeded la Sambucca in the department of foreign affairs. The Jesuits and other confidential friends of the pontiff trembled at this revolution; nor was it long ere their apprehensions were realised. The duchess de Maddaloni was at this time engaged in a suit to obtain a divorce from her husband: she gained her cause before the consistory of Naples: the duke appealed from the sentence; and the king referred the matter to a commission. The nuncio attempted to interpose the spiritual authority of the head of the church, because there was question of a sacrament: but he was over-ruled, and informed that marriage, inasmuch as it is a contract, must ever lie within the jurisdiction of the temporal power. A stronger or more explicit decision could not have been expected from a protestant court.

The fate of the religious orders, which yet

remained undecided, was definitively determined by an ordinance in which the king was made to speak with a boldness of language at which himself must have been astonished. It set forth that his majesty, after mature examination, was thoroughly convinced that the subjection of the religious societies to generals residing out of his dominions was "an abuse, a violation of the rights of the bishops, the offspring of those ages of darkness and spiritual calamity, of those false decretals forged by an impostor who had suffered himself to be led astray by his blind affection for the court of Rome."

This measure, and especially its motives, proved a thunder-stroke to the Holy See and its adherents. Theologists are consulted: the generals of the religious orders assemble in the pope's palace, and draw up a protest in opposition to the *rash* ordinance of the Neapolitan monarch. Unavailing clamours! The mal-contented could not on this occasion expect to receive support from the court of Spain: that court had itself been for some years meditating a similar reform.

The court of Rome, however, found in the new Neapolitan minister a greater propensity to conciliation than they had at first expected. The marquis Caraccioli and the cardinal Buoncompagni entertained for each other a recipro-

cal esteem. Both prudent and enlightened men, superior, each in his respective country, to the surrounding crowd of their contemporaries, they would perhaps have been of the same opinion if they had been placed in the same sphere of life. They mutually sought each other's acquaintance. Caraccioli broached a direct correspondence with the cardinal, for the purpose of amicably terminating the differences which kept their courts at variance. After they had begun to understand each other a little, the pope sent count Galeppi to Naples without any ostensible commission, but simply to hear whatever the Neapolitan government might be disposed to say to him: for the Roman court were not dazzled by those advances; and it was with good reason that they were not. At the moment when a reconciliation seemed approaching, the tribunal of Santa Clara pronounced that three of the bishoprics which were the subjects of the contest, being of royal advowson, ought to be subject to the king's nomination. The archbishop of Naples whose exemplary virtues were alloyed by a fanatic zeal for the court of Rome, the entire Sacred College, and the pontiff himself, loudly exclaimed against the decision; and there was question of proceeding to violent measures. But the prudent friends of Pius calmed his mind, and he checked his re-

sentment lest he should cause a miscarriage of the negotiation which was about to be commenced.

It began under happy auspices. Galeppi was highly pleased with the queen's disposition: Dextrous, insinuating, successfully adopting every tone and especially that of confidence, she enchanted the incipient negotiator. He had imagined that Caraccioli's influence was to be his principal, his only, resource: yet he found the queen even more conciliating than the minister: But while he suffered himself to be dazzled by these appearances, a sequestration was laid on the very abbey which cardinal Buoncompagni possessed in the kingdom of Naples, and part of its revenues appropriated to useful establishments: a laudable reform, without doubt, though the time and the object were ill chosen. Was this step the effect of duplicity? or did it proceed merely from the want of reflection? These are questions not easily to be answered even by those who have had the closest and most frequent access to the queen of Naples. That procedure, liable at least to the charge of incivility, was yet quite recent when the queen, perhaps moved by compassion, wrote with her own hand to cardinal Buoncompagni, that, notwithstanding *appearances*, the king was desirous of an accommodation with his holiness. Soon after,

some efforts were made to display a conduct consistent with this assurance: recommendation was given to observe a degree of tenderness toward the court of Rome, at least in point of form; and the tribunals were directed to shew some regard for the religious orders.

At length Galeppi succeeded in removing a first difficulty. In September 1786, it was agreed that the king should thenceforward nominate to all the bishoprics in his dominions; that the pope should be empowered to dispose of sixty thousand ducats of church-revenues in favour of Neapolitan subjects, and of six-thousand toward the support of his nuncio at Naples. Galeppi would have wished to obtain further successes, and especially to effect a suspension of the suppression of monasteries: but his efforts were of no avail. Perhaps, however, they might not have been unsuccessful if he had chosen to leave the business entirely in the hands of the marquis Caraccioli, who, to the great astonishment of the world, was become at his court the principal advocate of the papacy—he who, both in England and in France, had so often indulged his wit at the expense of religion—who had so slightly treated its ministers in Sicily—who had more than once been heard to say at Paris, “ If ever I become minister to the “ king of Naples, I’ll find means to render him

"independent of the grand mufti of Rome." But Galeppi wished to multiply his means : a hundred agents were employed in the business of his negotiation : it failed, and he returned to Rome in April 1787, carrying with him a plan of accommodation which the apostolic chancery refused to admit.

Instead of being astonished at the condescension of a court of which the two most influential men displayed a boldness of principle so alarming to the cause of orthodoxy—instead of appearing grateful for it—Pius asserted that he had done every thing in his power to satisfy the king of Naples, and that it would not be his fault if an accommodation should not take place. It was particularly to the French and Spanish ministers that he held this language, hoping that their courts would interpose in his favour. But, at Madrid as well as at Versailles, people were tired of those incessantly reviving disputes, of those alternations of stubbornness and complaisance, of reason and extravagance. Pius therefore saw himself abandoned to his own resources, and called in the aid of his favourite remedy : Buoncompagni was directed to compose a long memorial, in which he endeavoured to prove the legitimacy of the pontiff's pretensions, and especially the *inviolable jurisdiction* of his nuncio at Naples. A prelate was appointed to

convey this memorial to Galeppi, who had returned to his post; but by the king's order it was coolly and briefly answered that the pope's pretensions were inadmissible, and that it was no longer possible to think of an accommodation.

For a long time back every thing had been done at Naples in fits of peevishness. In all the operations of the government it was easy to discover the influence of a woman, who alternately vibrated between benevolence and animosity, and followed at one time the temperate counsels of Caraccioli, at another the violent suggestions of Acton, but oftener the impulses of her own caprice.

After such a repulsive answer, could any man have expected to see the negotiations once more renewed before the conclusion of the year? Pius, it is true, made the first advances, and came forward with more moderate pretensions. Caraccioli signified, that, since the pope shewed himself more reasonable, it became easy to effect a reconciliation, of which the king himself was extremely desirous; but that it was necessary to lay aside all those little wiles, all those subtilities, which had caused the preceding negotiations to miscarry.

The cardinal secretary of state thought himself the person most capable of realising the new

hopes which the pontiff was beginning to entertain; and with that idea he repaired to Naples in the month of October. A suspicion prevailed that a zeal for the interests of the papacy was not his real motive for undertaking that journey. Gorani, in his Secret Memoirs of the Courts of Italy, asserts that he was principally attracted to Naples by his desire of revisiting a woman with whom he had been very intimately acquainted at Bologna; and the libertine conduct of the cardinal gives credibility to the assertion. He probably accomplished the object in which his heart was concerned; but he failed in that which would have flattered his vanity. He was extremely pleasing in his manner: he was well received; and he proposed a plan of conciliation in which the pope made some new sacrifices: but they were not deemed sufficient.

Gorani relates that Buoncompagni, fully persuaded that he should find the king more accommodating than his ministers, requested of him a private audience, at which, after having with his insinuating eloquence urged to him his apostolic arguments, he thus concluded his harangue—"Your majesty may rest assured that your condescension to the Holy See is the only mean of avoiding a multitude of unpleasant circumstances, and of acquiring in all events a faithful and steady friend."—"Cardinal," re-

plied the king—"I have listened to you as long
 "as you thought proper: do you now listen to
 "me in turn. I was not afraid to displease the
 "king of Spain my father when I felt it my duty
 "to defend the rights of my crown. Can you
 "then imagine that I shall entertain any fear in
 "defending them against the pretensions and sub-
 "tilities of your sovereign? No! nothing can pre-
 "vail on me to consent to the demands of Pius
 "VI., because I deem them unjust."

We think ourselves authorised to question the authenticity of this dialogue, as bearing too little conformity to the characters of the speakers. The cardinal's friends have never had any knowledge of it: and besides, if he had carried home from Naples so explicit a declaration, how could the pontiff, immediately after Buoncompagni's mission, have indulged in that security which the best-informed observers remarked in him? However that point be determined, the cardinal returned to Rome without having made any progress in the business; and the year 1787 concluded amid cold demonstrations of mutual good understanding.

And now commenced that year which was to inflict on the pope the most painful of all mortifications that it was possible for him to experience. The month of June was far advanced, and no measures had yet been taken for the

solemn presentation of the palfrey. No new cause of complaint had arisen on either side : how then account for the delay ? for his holiness could not even for a moment admit the idea of a total omission of the accustomed homage. Saint Peter's eve at length arrived : the constable Colonna, the hero of the ceremony, has not yet made his appearance : but " the annual tribute at least will be sent."—The annual tribute is equally invisible.

Pius was deeply affected : he would have wished to avoid exposing himself to ridicule by the utterance of impotent complaints : but he dreaded the burst of universal indignation. The fatal hour is come : he ascends his throne— with mournful countenance surveys the surrounding assembly of cardinals, and an immense auditory who participate his dejection— pronounces a discourse, which he endeavours to render impressive by pathos of tone, and in which he accumulates arguments that to him appear unanswerable. He reminds his audience that he has " done every thing to conduct the negotiations to a happy conclusion : he has written ten conciliatory letters ; but the king of Naples has not answered them ; and, without any previous notice, he now offers him the affront of suddenly discontinuing a homage which he had constantly paid him since his accession to the

“ throne—a homage guaranteed by the express
 “ promise of his father Charles III.—a homage
 “ enforced by several bulls, and, among others,
 “ by that of Julius II. which denounces the threat
 “ of ecclesiastical censures against the king who
 “ should omit it.” He quotes those bulls, repeats
 the passages from them, not now in that thun-
 dering voice which he was fond enough of as-
 suming in the midst of his court on state occa-
 sions, but in that melancholy and almost sup-
 pliant tone which is employed to move an in-
 censed conqueror.

The few moderate men who heard him were
 struck with admiration on observing how suc-
 cessfully he had been able to restrain or at least
 to soften the expression of his chagrin; while
 the crowd of fanatics bestowed on his forbear-
 ance the name of base pusillanimity. But when,
 at a distance from the scene of action, we repre-
 sent to ourselves an old man, a sovereign, sighing
 through vexation because a horse has failed to
 come and pay him his periodical obeisance, we
 no longer participate either the admiration of
 the one party or the indignation of the other,
 but look down with pity on the weakness and
 vanity of frail mortals.

In the evening of that sinister day, at the mo-
 ment when the Neapolitan ambassador should
 have presented himself, the *fiscal* of the Apostolic

Chamber gravely made his protest respecting the delay of the customary homage. The pope admitted the protest, and thought he thereby saved his honour and his rights. He next wrote to the king of Naples a letter in circumspect language, but in a pathetic strain, which however had lost all its force on those to whom it was now addressed. He communicated this production to the Spanish minister, who greatly applauded the form he had given to it. The chevaliër Azara and the cardinal de Bernis still continued to be his confidants and comforters; though, to avoid involving them in difficulties, he had ceased to apply to them for advice. The two sage ministers, who were witnesses of his affliction, were very capable of appreciating its object, but could not forbear giving him testimonies of their sympathy.

On the seventh of the following July, Ricciardelli, the Neapolitan *chargé-des-affaires*, came to present to cardinal Buoncompagni the twelve thousand Roman crowns which his court once more condescended to pay as a tribute. "The principal circumstance of that homage is its solemnity," replied the cardinal, rejecting the proffered sum. After the expiration of a fortnight, Ricciardelli delivered to him a memorial setting forth, that—the pope having refused to receive the twelve thousand Roman crowns—

the king his master, desirous, as in preceding years, to make a pious offering to the apostles Peter and Paul, had ordered him to deposit it in a public bank where it should await the disposal of the Apostolic Chamber. The cardinal conceived he was supporting the dignity of the papacy by replying in another memorial that the *pious offering*, without the palfrey, did not fulfil the engagements contracted by the king of Naples and his predecessors to the Holy See ; that, in consequence, the *fiscal* of the Apostolic Chamber had made a second protest, and that the bank in which the sum was deposited had received directions to hold it at signor Ricciardelli's disposal.—The latter sent back the memorial, the protest, &c. because he could not receive them without an order from his court.

This contest of empty formalities did not however terminate the dispute. The king of Naples stooped to pick up the gantlet which the cardinal had flung down before him. He answered his memorial at great length, and in the style of a lawyer: he intimated that the differences might have been terminated if Galeppi had employed less of subtilty and more of sincerity in his negotiations, and if cardinal Buoncompagni had been authorised to conclude definitively: he did not refuse the customary oblation; but he thought the pomp of the ceremony

at least unnecessary, since it was not expressed in the act of investiture : that act itself was superfluous, since the Neapolitan monarchs possessed their kingdom by the right of conquest, and its enfeoffment was a usurpation, which could only be borne in ages of ignorance and barbarism.

Never before had any catholic prince spoken in so bold language to the court of Rome, whose astonishment was now almost equal to their affliction. Cardinal Borgia, secretary of the Propaganda and a learned theologist, was appointed to reply to it. But what arguments could he advance in opposition to force combined with reason? Quotations, the authority of fathers of the church and of the councils, ancient *Concordata*, recent regulations! In this memorial, which was alternately learned and pathetic, the pontiff enumerated all the steps he had already taken to effect a reconciliation with the court of Naples : but he could not, he said, without rendering himself contemptible, suffer a cruel wound to be inflicted on the authority of the Holy See.

The Neapolitan sovereign condescended to reply to this erudite homily. He was obliged to pay some deference to the prejudices of his subjects as well as to satisfy his own scruples. He was willing, as the French monarchs had

often done before, to kiss the pontiff's toe, and at the same time to bind his hands in chains. He assumed a tone of frankness and candor, which probably was intended as mockery by those who dictated his reply, though from his mouth it was sincere. In mild and almost humble terms he represented that he considered the pecuniary tribute as fulfilling the whole of his duty to the Apostolic See; that the pomp of the ceremony was not matter of obligation; that the presentation of the palfrey was a custom which could not be traced farther back than the preceding century.—The truth was, that no express mention of that ridiculous formality had been made in the act of investiture given to the present sovereign, though it had been mentioned in that granted to the king his father, who guaranteed it for himself and *his successors*.

It was serving the court of Rome according to their taste, to engage with them in a polemic discussion. Pius and his secretary of state, who were seldom in unison, differed in opinion respecting the proper form to be given to the answer which the king of Naples expected. The pontiff wished to swell it out to a voluminous memorial, under the persuasion that arguments derive additional strength from their bulk. Meanwhile, to fill up the time that must elapse before the quarrel were decided, the Neapolitan

government persevered in the pursuit of its plan, gave orders for the sequestration of all the abbey and simple benefices, assumed the right of nominating to them all, and burst the last remaining ties by which the religious societies were yet bound to their generals.

The Holy See suspended its labours, and tried, if possible, to stop the court of Naples in its too rapid career. About this period, an incident of a private nature gave birth to new disputes. The archbishop of Naples had dissolved the marriage of the duchess di Mattalona*, and, without the concurrence of the Holy See, had given her a certificate declaring her at liberty to marry again. A bishop of Motula had afterward taken up that cause. This, according to Pius, was a violation of all the rules of ecclesiastical discipline: wherefore, to apply a speedy remedy to these disorders, he drew up two briefs, the one for the duchess, the other for the bishop, and directed his internuncio to deliver them to the parties. The duchess refused to receive that which was addressed to her, and refused in such a tone as forbade all attempt to insist on the point. The internuncio was disconcerted, and said within himself, "Let us act more adroitly with the bishop: let us lay for

* In page 75 she is designated by the name of *Maddaleni*.

"him an ambuscade from which he cannot escape without causing open scandal." Accordingly he took him unaware, and, with his brief in his hand, attempted to offer him a sort of violence. The bishop of Motula was a man of rough manner: he rudely thrust back the emissary, and even made use of language disrespectful to the Holy See. The poor internuncio had still less reason to boast of the success of his second attempt, which, though unsuccessful, irritated the court of Naples, from whom he suddenly received an order to quit the kingdom within eight and forty hours. The name of *treason* was given to the audacity by which he had been prompted to introduce, without the king's consent, those acts emanating from a foreign power. But the same hand which signed this sentence sought to alleviate its consequences, and recommended the internuncio to the pope's clemency, because, said his majesty, his conduct had been irreproachable in every instance except that *criminal attempt*.

The court of Naples, with its usual inconsistency, soon passing from rage to repentance, wrote to the pope, as to disarm his resentment, and proposed to renew the negotiation: but the wound was already inflicted. Pius sensibly felt this affront, which presaged to him many others in succession. Cardinal Buoncompagni unbo-

soms his painful feelings to the cardinal de Bernis, and supplicates him to procure the interposition of the eldest son of the church* in behalf of her chief. This happened toward the conclusion of the year 1788, a period when Louis XVI. was himself involved in considerable difficulties: his intercession therefore was feeble, and of very little efficacy.

An unfortunate combination of circumstances accumulated the subjects of dispute between the Roman court and that of Naples.

The order of Malta was at this time rent by divisions which extended to these two courts. The ambiguous existence of that order was a fruitful source of dissension. The grand-master, as a temporal sovereign, was a vassal of the crown of Naples: as chief of an order, he was subject to the Holy See: hence a frequent clashing of jurisdiction. At this period, existed at Malta a very violent quarrel between a knight named de Loras and the commander Dolomieu. The latter having displeased the court of Naples, had, at the instigation of his adversary, been banished from the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Returning to Malta, he there suffered a second disgrace, which was a consequence of the former: he was deprived of his office of re-

* His most Christian majesty, the king of France,

representative in the superior council of Malta. From this sentence he appealed to the Roman Rota, as the tribunal to whose jurisdiction were subject all the judgements of the order. The Rota had the boldness to absolve the commander, and alleged, as the motive of its decision, that the cause of Dolomieu's condemnation was hidden, and "did not appear to be of a criminal nature."

This was, to say the least of it, a daring measure, considering the situation in which the papacy then stood with respect to the Neapolitan court. The latter took offence at it, and, long accustomed to disregard the restraints of delicacy in its relations with the sovereign pontiff, imperiously demanded the reversal of a decision "equally inconsiderate as erroneous and absurd." The cardinal secretary of state, who by this time was thoroughly weary of his post at the helm in the midst of so many storms, would not venture to undertake the task of writing an answer, as desired. A congregation of cardinals was consulted, who pronounced that, in criminal causes of the knights of Malta, appeals to the court of Rome must always be admitted. Cardinal Buoncompagni, confident in this decision, replied that the Rota was authorised to act as it had done, and that it by no means merited the imputations thrown out

against it. The court of Versailles protected Dolomieu: but his adversary, excelling him in the arts of intrigue, had found means to interest great personages in his own behalf, and procured powerful recommendations from all quarters. The court of Rome attempted to struggle against so formidable a party: but even the friends of the Holy See were of opinion that it too frequently received appeals from the grandmaster, and that by such affectation of paramount authority it only exasperated the governments which already had causes of complaint against the papacy. The Neapolitan government in particular was thereby rendered more averse to conciliation.

The pope meanwhile had concluded his voluminous performance, and now condescended to communicate it to cardinal Buoncompagni, who, not having expected that mark of confidence, felt himself flattered by it, though he nevertheless severely criticised his holiness's production. "That memorial," said he to his friends, "is bristled with quotations, overloaded with authorities: the pope has succeeded in rendering it at once tiresomely dull and inconclusive: the king of Naples will never take the trouble of perusing it: but he will cause it to be answered with equal prolixity; and thus, instead of remedying the disease, we

"shall find that we have only increased its virulence."—The memorial, however, without undergoing any alteration, was dispatched in February 1789, and produced the effect which the cardinal had predicted.

At the approach of the festival of the apostles Peter and Paul, the epoch of that ceremony of which the suspension was productive to his holiness of so many sleepless nights, he wrote to the king of Naples, in hopes of reviving some scruples in his breast. Vain attempt!—the palfrey did not make his appearance; and the fiscal renewed his protest, but with yet greater solemnity than on the preceding occasion; recalling to memory that the offering of the pious donation was to be made "*cum præsentatione paraphreni albi decenter ornati, per ipsum regem vel per ejus specialem legatum regio characterè munitum, non alicui ministro pontificio vel cameræ apostolicæ, sed IPSI ROMANO PONTIFICI, PUBLICÈ, et cum solitis solemnitatibus, ac in RECOGNITIONEM MEMORATI DOMINII* *." Such were the expressions of the engagement renewed by the king

* With the presentation of a white palfrey decently caparisoned, by the king himself or by his special ambassador vested with the regal character, not to any of the pope's ministers or to the Apostolic Chamber, but *to the Roman pontiff in person, publicly, and with the usual solemnities, and as an acknowledgement of the aforesaid sovereignty.*

don Carlos: and who could think of breaking through a custom so solemnly sanctioned? Yet the Neapolitan agent continued inflexible: he deposited the annual tribute in a public bank, as he had done in 1788: the *fiscal* renewed his protest; and the agent refused to receive it.

After a few days, the Neapolitan agent sent a paquet from his court to the prelate Federici, one of those subordinate characters who have acquired the confidence of their employer and who often abuse it. Federici, who temporarily supplied the place of the secretary of state, was more irritable than the pope himself, or had less command of his temper. He refused to receive the paquet: it was sent to him a second time; and a second time he refused to accept it. Pius was not informed of this repeated breach of civility until the mischief was irreparable: the intelligence wounded him to the soul. "Perhaps he had been made to reject a proposal of accommodation! perhaps that paquet contained king Ferdinand's answer to his memorial!"—Cardinal Spinelli, who, since the death of Orfini, was protector of the crown of Naples at the court of Rome, happened at this time to be at Naples. That prelate possessed a good heart, pure intentions, a native fund of sound sense, and refined penetration; nor could Pius have chosen a fitter person to be his interpreter. Ac-

cordingly he commissioned Spinelli to exculpate him from the involuntary offence, which was imputable to Federici alone. But the court of Naples, considering itself as superior to the affront, was equally regardless of the apology: it quietly advanced in its predetermined career, and spared none either of the spiritual or temporal usurpations of the court of Rome.

The duchy of Castro and Ronciglione, lying within the territory that was called Saint Peter's Patrimony, had formerly belonged to the Farnese family, and had, under some frivolous pretext, been confiscated by the Apostolic Chamber. The king of Naples, who, as heir of the house of Farnese, continued to bear the title of that duchy, determined at this period to recover the property of his ancestors. This was a new source of uneasiness to the pope in that memorable year 1789, when the national assembly of France began to give the signal for those mortal wounds which were to be inflicted on the papacy. The other catholic governments foresaw the approaching evil: they saw with secret sorrow that the boldness of reform would overstep the bounds which they had wished to reach, and that the philosophic audacity of the French nation threatened the very existence of that spiritual authority which it might be the interest of the temporal sovereigns to modify,

but not totally to overthrow. However powerful a monarch may feel himself by his own strength, in critical moments he wishes to save his auxiliaries: those governments, therefore, were seen to suspend their hostilities against the pontificate, without however making any retrograde motion. Such was the conduct of the Neapolitan court in the year 1789: it did not surrender its conquests; but it forbore to add to their number.

In the month of July 1789, the king of Naples at length replied to Pius's long memorial in a respectful and affectionate style which announced a desire of accommodation. But, with regard to the presentation of the palfrey, he explained himself in a manner which forbade the pontiff to entertain any further hope on the subject. He reverted to the times of the usurpations and hostile invasions of Innocent IV. and Alexander IV., "days of violence," he said, "which ought never to be remembered without horror. And although he himself (Ferdinand) had still permitted the presentation of the palfrey, he had not formed any engagement to have that ceremony accompanied by a numerous cavalcade, a solemn embassy, the roar of artillery, and all the pomp of a triumphal exhibition. Such solemnity was purely voluntary on his part: it was equally unbecoming his dignity as uncon-

“formable to the holiness and humility professed by the visible head of God’s church. His resolution was taken; nor could any consideration induce him to alter it.”

The pope accordingly perceived that the decree was irrevocable: the puerile homage of the palfrey, so flattering to his vanity, was irrecoverably lost; and from his pontificate would henceforward be dated the disgrace of the tiara. He was on the eve of suffering much more severe losses; but none of them more painfully affected him than this. Perhaps at this moment he continues to deplore it within the recesses of his Carthusian retirement at Florence.

During these transactions the marquis Caraccioli died; an event which opened a new source of alarms for Pius. In his relations with the Neapolitan court, all the marks of condemnation had proceeded from that minister, the measures of violence from the chevalier Acton, and the acts of inconsiderate caprice from the queen. Henceforward therefore he had no room to expect the delicacy of tenderness in the treatment he was to experience.

But in this idea he was mistaken. In proportion as the French revolution, which threatened to prove so fatal to him, was gradually developed, the other governments became less enterprising. That of Naples, without abandon-

them and the pope, considerably softened the asperity of mutual prepossessions.

From that epoch indeed every circumstance tended to effect an approximation between the Roman pontiff and those of the European powers that stood in opposition to France. At first Pius lent them his spiritual aid—with what success, is universally known: at length, to his great misfortune, he determined to add also the assistance of his temporal arms. After having long fought against those powers for his own interests, he was ruined in fighting under the same banners with them in support of the common cause.

CHAPTER XXII.

*Pius's Relations with different Powers of Europe—
with the United States of America—with Poland
—the King of Sweden—the Republic of Venice—
Portugal—the Dukes of Modena, Parma, &c.*

IF Pius has, by some of his faults, merited a part of his misfortunes, it must be owned that he governed the church at a period when the greatest talents and the greatest virtues would have been unable to screen it from the storms by which it was assailed. After the persevering efforts of half a century, philosophy had made a progress which was truly alarming to every kind of authority.—She could not fail to make converts of those men whom their education had predisposed to receive her lessons, of the worldly throng whose passions she left in many respects unrestrained, and whom she emancipated from the troublesome yoke of conscientious scruple. Had she confined herself within these bounds, she would not have proved a dangerous foe to that class of men who turned to lucrative account those prejudices which she combated. But she had successively lowered herself to the level

of the most vulgar understandings: she had penetrated even into seminaries and cloisters: in every country she had gained some profelytes around the throne; and, in some, she had even seated herself upon it. Such was the enemy that Pius had to combat at the commencement and during the whole continuance of his pontificate. On every side he suffered her attacks. We have already seen what he had been obliged to endure from the emperor, from the emperor's brother the grand-duke, from the government of Naples, and even from the ecclesiastic electors. Spain, whose sceptre had during two successive reigns been swayed by religious princes, and from which to the last moment he received so many marks of deference—even Spain did not forbear to give him uneasiness. The irreconcilable hatred of the court of Madrid to the Jesuits, its urgent importunity for the canonisation of the venerable Palafox, its maxims of government very nearly approaching to the liberties of the Gallican church, constantly stood in opposition to the dearest affections of the pontiff, and to his most deeply rooted prejudices. Formerly the Holy See had been a kind of sacred citadel which kept the nations in awe, commanded even their sovereigns, and menaced them with its formidable thunders. In latter times, the reverse had taken place; and it was now become as it were the

butt against which were directed all the batteries of the temporal authority. Their artillery allowed not a moment's repose to the besieged, who each day saw tumbling in ruin some part of those ramparts which they had been accustomed to consider as inexpugnable. Heretics, schismatics, catholics of every shade and gradation, bishops, even devotees, seemed all to have formed a general league as against a common enemy. Its able auxiliaries, the Jesuits, formerly scattered in all parts of the universe, were now almost all collected around it: but, far from adding to its strength, they increased its dangers by governing it according to the rules of an antiquated system of tactics, of which every manœuvre was watched and defeated.

Almost all the temporal powers seemed to have formed the plan, if not of utterly denying, at least of considerably abridging, the spiritual jurisdiction of the court of Rome: and it were no difficult task to enumerate the few exceptions to this rule which some of their number have furnished. But it will be matter of no small surprise to find one of those exceptions beyond the ocean, in a nation young indeed in the date of her political existence, but already old in wisdom—faithfully observant of the principles of universal toleration which formed one of the chief of her fundamental laws—acknowledging no paramount mode of worship, but affording

protection to all religions whose professors had taken refuge within her territories. During two centuries North America had been the asylum of a considerable number of catholics whom persecution had driven from different countries. So long as those refugees had, together with their adoptive countrymen, continued subject to the oppressive yoke of England, their civil existence had been equivocal and precarious. At length breathing under a regular and protecting government, they determined to secure the exercise of their mode of worship by the nomination of a bishop. The congress, although for the most part consisting of philosophers and protestants, did not scruple to act as their interpreter in applying to the court of Rome *. In 1789 they asked of the pontiff a bishop for the catholics of North America, leaving to the Holy See the perpetual right of nomination. Pius, who was not accustomed to such deference even from the catholic powers, accepted the offer, but did not make an improper use of it. He left to the members of the catholic clergy the task of nominating their bishop in this first instance, only reserving to himself the privilege of confirming

* That pontifical vanity and policy should have magnified into a solemn act of congress some private application from a committee of catholics or from their clergy, is quite in character : but be it remembered that the congress have uniformly abstained from all interference in matters of religion.

their choice. The person whom they elevated to the episcopal chair was John Carroll, who fixed his see at Baltimore, and assumed the title of pope's legate.

The authority of the pontiff was thus making some distant acquisitions, while his losses were accumulated close around him: and to modern Rome might have been applied what Racine said of the ancient—

“ O Rome! thy bitt'rest foes stand at thy gates.”

Accordingly, while the emperor, the grand-duke of Tuscany, and the king of Naples, seemed to conspire against the papacy, it received some consolations, some indemnifications from certain states of the North. Have we not seen the great Frederic testify a regard for the pontiff; Catherine II. likewise, notwithstanding the vexations caused to Pius by her agents, pay a sort of homage to his spiritual authority? But it was more particularly from Poland that he more than once received flattering marks of deference.

In 1775, it had been remarked in this last-mentioned country that the number of holidays was too great. Application was made to the pope, who suppressed thirty. Several members of the confederation of Bar had leagued themselves by oath against king Stanislaus; and when they afterward wished for a reconciliation with him,

they asked and obtained of Pius an absolution from their oath. The whole nation, however, were not equally well disposed toward the court of Rome; and many of the Poles were heard to express their wishes that their country might be emancipated from those spiritual trammels which retarded its progress in prosperity. In 1778 appeared the plan of a code, digested by the illustrious Zamoïski, proposing to abridge the jurisdiction of the pope's nuncio and the immunities of the clergy—to abolish the practice of appeals to the court of Rome—to subject all its bulls to the king's approbation—to establish a rule that monastic vows could not be pronounced except by persons of mature age, &c. But the hour was not yet come when the torch of reason should be permitted to dispel the clouds of superstition from the Polish sky: the clergy of that kingdom arose in opposition to these innovations: the pontiff bitterly censured them; and the diet of 1780, in which the individuals who would have been affected by them possessed a predominancy, rejected the plan of the intended code. Its author went to seek an asylum in a happier land, where philosophy was not a crime: he found protection under the wing of Joseph II. Pius did not, during the whole course of his pontificate, gain a more complete triumph.

King Stanislaus, enlightened as he was, procured for the pope some other successes; feeling

probably that the church afforded a support to his limited and tottering authority. In 1779, wishing to suppress a chapter of canons, which was equally useless as so many others of the kind, he applied to the pope for permission. A congregation of cardinals examined this momentous question, decided it in the negative, and Stanislaus submitted to their decision.

In 1782, several marks of insanity, which had been displayed by the too-famous bishop of Cracow, having induced his chapter to cause him to be confined, and this measure having been approved by the diet, Stanislaus thought proper to disarm the pope's resentment which might have been excited by this supposed invasion of his spiritual authority, and for that purpose sent to him a plenipotentiary to justify the Polish government. Finally, whoever recollects the conciliatory part which Stanislaus took in the thorny business respecting the archbishop of Mohilow, must acknowledge that no sovereign among Pius's contemporaries took greater pains than he to seek opportunities of alleviating the pontiff's distresses.

Another northern potentate, whom difference of religion as well as the distance of his dominions might naturally have precluded from almost all connexion with the pope—Gustavus III., who sought to distinguish himself by every

species of singularity, seemed to affect showing marks of regard for the head of a church to which he did not himself belong. In 1781 he published an edict favourable to the catholics of his kingdom, and on this occasion signified to Pius that "the style of the edict was adapted to
 "the conceptions of the Swedish nation, but
 "that the statutes were conformable to the
 "spirit of the mildest toleration."

Two years after this, he personally paid homage to the pontiff whom he had courted from such a distance. Setting out from Sweden under the title of the count de Haga, he arrived on the second of November at Pisa, where at this time the grand-duke resided. Thence he wrote to the pope a most affectionate letter, announcing his speedy arrival at Rome, and assuring him that the catholics in his states enjoyed and ever should continue to enjoy his peculiar protection. Piranesi, his agent at Rome, experienced a very cordial reception on delivering that letter to the pontiff. A northern monarch, a heretical prince, coming to visit his holiness, and loading him with civilities, while so many catholic princes compelled him to swallow deep draughts from the bitter cup of insult and indignity! such an event at once afforded a feast to his self-love, and poured the balm of consolation into his wounded bosom. Immediately he dispatched a courier

who was ordered to meet the royal traveller on the frontier of the Ecclesiastical State, and accompany him to Rome. On a former occasion we mentioned that this courier was deceived by the emperor, who passed himself for the count de Haga, and entered Rome under that title. The illusion continued until the moment when the pope and the emperor appeared in each other's presence. Pius affected to feel only an agreeable surprise on discovering his error; though his bosom harboured an inward vexation, which he exerted his utmost power to conceal. This unexpected though promised visit undoubtedly flattered his vanity: but at the same time it revived unpleasant recollections, and was perhaps an omen that boded new storms. He had nought but homage to expect from the king of Sweden: with the inflexible Joseph he was to have connexions of a different kind; and the latter enjoyed with malicious pleasure the ill-dissembled embarrassment of the pontiff, who, he plainly saw, would by far have preferred the presence of the stray son to that of the rebel.

The real count de Haga closely followed him who had surreptitiously usurped his name. On the morrow of his arrival he assisted at divine service celebrated in Saint Peter's church by the pope himself, who profusely lavished on him every token of affection. His affable demean-

our immediately gained for him the good-will of the Romans. He neglected none of those winning arts of conciliation which were so familiar to him; and he dextrously accommodated them in just proportion to places and persons. Cardinal Antonelli having, as chief of the *propaganda*, testified to him his gratitude for the kind indulgence which he granted to the catholics in his dominions, "If God," replied he with a hypocritic countenance, "prolong my life and health, I hope to do much more in their favour." With zealous eagerness he visited all the curiosities of Rome, and every-where left in the minds of those with whom he conversed an advantageous idea of his understanding, his taste for the fine arts, and his refined politeness. He particularly testified an earnest desire to see that famous museum on which he knew that Pius set a great value. The king and the pontiff there met as it were by chance: their meeting powerfully excited the curiosity of the spectators; and even the slightest particulars of what took place on the occasion were minutely observed and carefully treasured in remembrance.

A French painter made this interview the subject of a picture which was highly applauded by the voice of flattery: but it was not, as *Gorani* intimates, the first or the only piece on the subject. That author appears to be further mistaken

when he asserts that this meeting was an accommodatory medium adopted to avoid the embarrassment of regulating the ceremonial of etiquette between a protestant monarch and the head of the Roman church. There could exist no question of ceremonial with respect to Gustavus, since he did not travel in the character of a king, and had announced his wish to remain most profoundly incognito at Rome. Nay too literal an interpretation was given to that desire dictated by his feigned modesty, in sparing him the fatiguing homage of public entertainments, and the wearisome pomp of state dinners. The count de Haga, however, would have been pleased to see people occasionally recollect the king of Sweden: and he had the littleness to complain of the omission to the cardinal de Bernis in a tone of affected gaiety, of which that keen quick-sighted courtier did not fail to understand the real meaning. The academy of the Arcadians alone gave him a reception calculated to remind him of his royal rank. The pope, however, did not omit any of those testimonies of affectionate regard which ought to have been more pleasing to him than acts of ostentatious homage.

After a few months' stay at Rome, he departed for Naples, taking his route through the Pontine marshes. He admired the works there, and be-

flowed the most pompous eulogiums on them after his return ; for, from the castle of Caserte, where he spent six weeks, he went back to Rome in time to assist at the religious solemnities of Passion-week. Never before had they been celebrated with greater brilliancy than on this occasion. The great number of distinguished foreigners who then happened to be at Rome served further to enhance their pompous splendor. Gustavus, who had set out with a resolution of admiring every thing, was struck by the majesty with which the pontiff gave his benediction to the people on Holy Thursday and Easter-day : and, to sustain with uniformity his assumed character of protector of the catholics, he declared aloud that the protestants were to blame for condemning the pomp of those ceremonies ; and that, since religion was necessary, it was right to clothe it with every external decoration which could render it august and impressive. He seemed at this moment to have forgotten that religion is more respected in those countries where it appears in the most simple garb. He testified a curiosity for every thing connected with the catholic mode of worship ; and the pope showed great alacrity in gratifying him. He caused him to assist at the admission of a novice, in the convent of capuchin nuns : he even granted him the privilege—so difficult

to be obtained—of entering the interior recesses of a nunnery: it remained accessible to him at all hours of the day; but Gustavus made a moderate use of that permission.

He determined to treat the Romans with a spectacle quite novel to them, and which put their toleration to the test in a singular manner. A Swedish bishop, the baron Taube, his chief almoner, came from the remote regions of Sweden to perform for him the functions of his ministry. Perhaps Gustavus was afraid lest his subjects should think him perverted by the society of the Roman idolaters, and wished to show himself faithful to the protestant mode of worship even in the centre of catholicism. He caused a chapel to be fitted up in his palace: the chief almoner pronounced in it a discourse to prepare his flock for communion: on the morrow, at the conclusion of a pathetic sermon, he celebrated divine service according to the rite of the confession of Augsberg; and the king, accompanied by his Swedish attendants and some foreign Lutherans, received the sacrament, while a crowd of Romans, who more strongly felt the impulse of curiosity than of fanaticism, stood assembled at the gate of his palace and in the adjacent streets, without expressing any other emotions than those of astonishment.

On this occasion Pius exhibited a proof of his

tolerance which gave offence to none but bigots. It would have been difficult for a pope to have shown himself more of a philosopher.

During this second residence at Rome, Gustavus had the satisfaction to find that his pretended desire of remaining incognito was somewhat less indulged. When he went on a visit to the college of the *propaganda*, which is destined to shed the light of the catholic faith over all parts of the globe, and of course maintains connexions with all the nations which dwell on its surface, Gustavus received from its members a compliment which he might in vain have expected any-where else: he was presented with his own eulogium in verse, written in forty-six different languages. His surprise was lively, and expressed in a lively manner.

It was recollected, somewhat too late, that the grand-duke and duchess of Russia, though travelling like him under modest titles, had consented that the dome of Saint Peter's cathedral should be illuminated in compliment to them. Why then was a less brilliant reception given to the king of Sweden? The cardinal de Bernis and the chevalier Azara spoke on the subject to the pontiff. Some persons of inferior grade objected on account of the expense to be incurred by that magnificent spectacle; and the circumstances of the papacy were such at this period,

as did not warrant a disregard to the suggestions of prudential œconomy. But Pius delighted, above all things, in the pompous show of exhibitions; and he wished to leave an advantageous impression of his own behaviour on the mind of Gustavus. Accordingly the dome of Saint Peter's was illuminated. This happened at the termination of the Swedish monarch's second residence at Rome. Previous to his departure, the royal traveller made to the pope a present of three boxes of Brasil wood, which were accepted with a pleasure bordering upon enthusiasm; for such was Pius's usual manner of receiving whatever was calculated to add to the embellishment of his museum. Those three boxes contained two hundred and twenty-two medals, of which eighty-nine were of gold, and the remaining hundred and thirty-three of silver. They were a collection of the effigies of all the Swedish kings who had distinguished themselves in any department whatever.

It was not without sensations of regret that Pius saw Gustavus depart; and the pontiff and the king tenderly embraced each other at the moment of separation. The former had been sincere in the testimonies of his affection: for, as Joseph II. had several times observed, he was, "at bottom, a good kind of man." Gustavus had only acted an assumed character; but

he had played his part well ; for he was an excellent actor.

While the pope received such pleasing treatment from a prince on whom he had no claims, he stood exposed to the persecutions, frequently indeed deserved, of those governments from which he had a right to look for some respect at least. The Venetians, in particular, were very troublesome neighbours to him as a temporal sovereign, and, as father of the faithful, very indocile sons.

No nation of Italy, however, had greater reason to be satisfied with the relations by which it was linked to the court of Rome. In the course of three centuries and half, five Venetians had occupied the chair of Saint Peter : the most eminent dignities of the church had been profusely lavished on natives of their republic ; yet it had been involved in unceasing broils with the popes. Benedict XIV., who was not a man of resentful temper, entertained against the Venetians an incurable aversion : even the benevolent Ganganelli was never able to succeed in conciliating their friendship ; and Pius VI., who seemed predestined to experience every kind of trouble and opposition, had, in the very first year of his pontificate, reason to complain of their conduct toward him. A great number of abbeys and prebends were under the protection of their

nobles. Suddenly the senate secularised those ecclesiastical foundations, and decreed the incorporation of their possessions with those of the nobility.

This was the first signal of a quarrel which an event of strange fatality could alone have terminated—that is to say, the overthrow of both governments. Pius, whose authority at this time was yet unimpaired, assumed a menacing tone, and said to the Venetian ambassador, “ Unless the senate revoke their decree, I will not acknowledge the new patriarch of Venice. It is time that your republic declare whether it choose to remain in Saint Peter’s bark, or to quit it.” He could not then foresee, that, within the period of his own existence, Saint Peter’s bark and the Venetian bucentoro* should both be dashed to pieces against the same rock. The ambassador opposed threat to threat: “ Were it so,” said he, “ I would soon quit Rome, and your nuncio should be sent back to you.”—“ It is of little consequence to me,” replied the pontiff, “ to have at my court the ambassador of a state which shows so little respect for the Holy See, while I elevate its subjects to the highest dignities of the church.”

* The doge’s state vessel.

In the following year the animosities were increased to such a degree that Pius, desirous of emulating the warlike exploits of one of his predecessors, the impetuous Rovere*, seriously talked of declaring war against the republic of Venice. But the two cardinals of the name of Rezzonico, who were themselves Venetians, interposed: the pope calmed his passion, and submitted the examination of his cause to five of the most enlightened cardinals. Of their number Castelli alone spoke the accents of peace: the other four maintained that the patriarch ought not to be confirmed unless the senate redressed the grievances of the Holy See. But the senate, who had interested in their favour the courts of Vienna and Naples, answered in the haughty language of disdain, and showed themselves disposed to break off the negotiation.

The pontiff, whose fits of courage were not of long duration, soon came to terms, and proclaimed the patriarch in the Consistory. In return for this concession, he thought himself entitled to require that all edicts militating against the jurisdiction of the Holy See should be revoked. But the senate, far from being moved according to his hope, suppressed at discretion.

* Julius II. who occupied the pontifical throne from October 31, 1503, to February 21, 1513.

every convent which they thought useless: not had Pius any other consolation than that of learning that the Venetian commonalty loudly murmured against that assembly, which suffered itself to be guided by the impetuous ardor of the younger senators. But of what consequence was the commonalty at Venice? The senate, regardless of its murmurs, continued to pursue their reformatory plan, and, after the example of several other sovereigns, limited the age for taking vows, diminished the number of convents, and set bounds to their invasive covetousness. Like the cat in the fable, they enjoyed a double pleasure from these innovations—they were promoting the interests of their own state, and at the same time mortifying the pope, who too late perceived, that, in this universal conspiracy against his authority, there was no enemy whom he was authorized to disregard as unworthy of notice.

An incident of a purely temporal nature, which occurred in 1780, furnished a new cause of disturbance in addition to the many which already existed. The Ferrarese territory, it is well known, bordered on that of Venice. Near Rovigo, a river which formed the boundary, often overflowed. The Venetian senate determined on the erection of a dike to check its ravages. This salutary measure excited the ill-humour of

the court of Rome; and a body of troops was sent against the workmen, of whom six were killed in making opposition to the military force. The senate demanded a signal satisfaction, threatening, in case of refusal, to obtain it by force. On this occasion Pius suffered himself to be intimidated: he threw the blame of that transaction from his own shoulders on those of his legate, who in his turn exonerated himself by producing the order which he had received from cardinal Pallavicini. But the Venetian senate, confident of being supported by the courts of Vienna and Versailles, had already sent troops to the scene of action; and nought remained for the pope but to yield. His soldiers, who were accused of having exceeded their orders, received punishment, and the works of the dike were resumed. The liminary stream was effectually coerced from ever again overflowing: but the resentment of the senate, not so easily restrained, continued to burst forth on every occasion.

The republic of Venice had in Dalmatia a number of subjects professing the Greek faith, and still continuing in separation from the church of Rome. It had ever acted toward them with toleration: to treat them with favour was a sure mode of mortifying the court of Rome; and the Venetian senate eagerly seized

the opportunity. In 1782 they invited to Venice an archbishop of the Greek sect, and gave him a church for the celebration of divine service according to his own liturgy. The pope immediately exclaimed against the scandal, and hurled his spiritual thunders against the church that was thus profaned. The Venetians laughed at the holy father's wrath, though they condescended to enter into explanations for the purpose of proving how unreasonable it was. The result of the discussion proved that the existence of that Greek church was not an innovation, and that the only novelty in the whole affair was the solemnity with which the divine service had now been celebrated in it. The pontiff was obliged to submit: but his thoughtless impetuosity was not calculated to accelerate an accommodation. The senate caused a considerable diminution to be made of the sums which the Venetians were accustomed to pay to the court of Rome. The pope sighed at the loss, and it was natural that he should. The senate suppressed some rich monasteries, and applied their revenues to the endowment of hospitals that were destitute of resources. The pope sighed again; but did he deserve that any one should sympathise in his afflictions?

At length the French revolution, which even in its first stage wore an aspect highly formidable

to princes and aristocratic governments and religious establishments, warned the catholic sovereigns and states to conspire in one common cause: yet Rome and Venice still continued at variance. An arrangement concluded in 1749 seemed to have put a final period to the disputes respecting their boundaries on the banks of the Po. It secured to each of the two states the free navigation of that river, obviated on each side the ravages of its exundations, and prevented the insalubrity of both its banks. But the Romans infringed those wise regulations: they changed the course of the stream according to their own convenience, by opposing to it artificial obstructions: on the left shore bordering on the Venetian coast, they opened for it a new mouth, through which the mass of its waters flowed off and inundated the territory of the republic. The former mouth was stopped up: the navigation was injured in consequence: the accustomed approaches of the Po became dangerous and impracticable: foreign navigators complained, and shunned the spot. The senate of Venice had, in their turn, just cause of complaint, and demanded reparation.

The court of Rome had now recourse to her usual expedient, and, by a tedious and sophistical statement, laboured to prove the goodness of her cause, and the innocency of her operations.

The Venetian senate haughtily asserted the rights of their sovereignty—appealed to treaties—talked of compulsory measures—exculpated themselves to foreign nations by ascribing to the arbitrary proceedings of the papacy the impeded state of the navigation. Discussions took place; conferences were held; menaces were thrown out. But more momentous interests intervened to claim the attention of both governments and suspend their contest. The powers who have succeeded them, have inherited that quarrel: for concord did not preside at their first appearance on the theatre of Italy. Will the court of Vienna and the Cis-Alpine republic agree better respecting the mouths of the Po than the Venetian senate and the Roman government? At least it may safely be asserted that the two latter, in making their exit from the stage of political existence, did not mutually regret each other.

This double cause of disagreement existed only for some of the catholic powers: but there was not perhaps one of them, great or small, remote or proximate, which had not at the same period its disputes with the Holy See respecting ecclesiastic concerns. Even Portugal, which, of all the European nations, seemed the most fervently devoted to the papacy, occasionally added to the load of embarrassments under which Pius laboured. His pontificate was during two or

three years contemporary with the ministry of the marquis de Pombal, that imperious minister; who, full of the spirit of the times, dared to attempt several philosophic innovations amid a people less illumined by the light of philosophy than any other nation in Europe. Scarcely had Pius taken his seat on Saint Peter's chair, when Pombal attempted to deprive him of the collation of all the benefices in Portugal. A compromise was however entered into: the king reserved to himself the annual sum of a hundred and twenty thousand crowns to be levied on the vacant church livings; and fifty thousand were granted to the pope for the maintenance of six hundred Portuguese Jesuits who had been banished to his dominions. The death of Joseph I., which was soon followed by the disgrace of the marquis de Pombal, delivered the court of Rome from a formidable antagonist.

Immediately the scene was changed. The queen had secretly sighed over the various wounds which the ex-minister had inflicted on the Holy See, and now hastened to cure them. She kept up a regular correspondence with Pius—re-established his nuncio in the enjoyment of all the privileges of which he had been stripped—restored to liberty several fanatics who had suffered persecution under the despotism of the preceding ministry—restored several devotional

institutions which it had abolished. The queen, good-natured, sincerely pious, but easily influenced, obeyed the suggestions of the marquis de Pombal's enemies. Superstition now began to re-appear with triumphant sway: the papacy, threatened with so many losses, received some consolations; and Portugal was about to replunge into the darkness from which it had begun to emerge.

In 1778 Pius obtained from the court of Lisbon a new *concordatum*, by which the collation of all the prebends was equally divided in thirds to the queen, the bishops, and himself. Soon after, the patriarchal see of Lisbon, which Pombal had deprived of almost all its honours, recovered its former splendor, its revenues, its numerous and opulent chapter. The partisans of the Jesuits were countenanced; and even an idea was for some time entertained that the Jesuits themselves were to be again taken into favour. Pius's enemies had industriously disseminated that report: the ministers of the courts of the house of Bourbon were alarmed by it; and the chevalier de Meneses, the Portuguese minister, was directed formally to contradict it. The only measure which the court of Lisbon thought proper at the moment to take in favour of the Jesuits and the See of Rome, was to grant moderate pensions to the former, and thus relieve the

Apostolic Chamber from the burden of their maintenance, of which it had till that time borne almost the entire weight.

Thus passed six or seven years of the most perfect good-understanding between the courts of Lisbon and of Rome. While all the other sovereigns, whether religious or not, were making ecclesiastic reforms, abridging the power of the clergy, and curtailing the revenues of the Holy See, the queen of Portugal alone continued to found convents, re-established the inquisition, and, obedient to the suggestions of her husband * who was a zealous partisan of the defunct society, suffered an occasional ray of hope to cheer its proscribed and scattered members. All the other catholic powers, if they did not threaten a rupture with the Holy See, at least made no scruple of setting bounds to the sums which their subjects, whether of the clergy or the laity, paid to it as the purchase of bulls for benefices, of dispensations, &c. The Portuguese alone, after the example of their sovereign, multiplied their demands for spiritual favours, of which they paid the price not only without murmur but with pious alacrity. In every other catholic country, the prelates, whether opulent or otherwise, teised the *datario* with applications for a re-

* Don Carlos.

duction of the tax on their bulls: but the *datario* experienced no such importunity from the beneficed clergy of Portugal, who, on the contrary, showed themselves the most devoted and most generous of the sons of the church. To solicit for any abatement of those dues, which they considered as so legitimate and sacred, would have appeared to them a sacrilege.

Some slight storms, however, disturbed the tranquillity of that so peaceful horizon. In spite of priestly opposition, some rays of philosophy burst through the gloom which sat brooding over Portugal. The prince of Brasil, less priest-ridden than his mother, had suffered himself to be *perverted* by the perusal of some foreign books. In 1787 he had the boldness to order Portuguese translations of the books of the normal schools of Vienna, and to introduce them into schools which he had himself established. Soon after, he caused certain positions, which were disagreeable to the Holy See, and which he had found in a journal printed at Berlin, to be sustained at the university of Coimbra—such as the following—“ The sovereign may resume grants made to the church”—“ He may, without impiety, tolerate every religion that is not incompatible with the safety of the state”—“ He may expel the pope’s nuncios from his dominions, forbid his subjects to make application to the

"pontiff, and authorise bishops to grant dispensations"—"He deserves praise if he endeavours to emancipate his authority from the yoke of the Holy See, &c. &c." These dogmata were novel in Portugal: at Lisbon they were heard with astonishment; at Rome, with mingled horror and indignation.

The young prince seemed determined not to confine himself to the bare theory of those bold principles of which he encouraged the propagation. He had succeeded in opening his mother's eyes to a perception of the disorders prevalent in the monasteries of both sexes, and the shameful excess of opulence which they enjoyed. The queen, notwithstanding all her devotion, saw that a diminution of the number of monks would tend to promote the prosperity of her dominions; and accordingly, in 1788, she ordained that none of her subjects should thenceforward become a member of any religious order without the *royal sanction*. Some other measures of her government excited in the pope's breast an apprehension that she would become less obedient to his will.

About this period the prince of Brasil died. Entitled to regret on many accounts, he was lamented by the whole nation, the clergy excepted.

The impulse which he had given to the go-

vernment of his country continued to operate for some time after his death. In 1790, her Most Faithful Majesty felt a touch of compassion for those classes of the people upon whom alone the weighty pressure of taxation fell: she ordained that all her subjects, not excepting the nobility or clergy, should equally bear the burden: and the pope, who suffered so many losses for which his consent was not asked, thought it prudent to sanction by a brief this derogation from the immunities of the church. Encouraged by the success of this first measure, the queen proceeded to greater lengths. The archbishop of Braga possessed the prescriptive nomination to all the offices of magistracy belonging to his see: the queen insisted that he should renounce that right: the prelate appealed to the court of Rome: but the queen, without awaiting its decision, issued an edict suppressing not only the signorial rights of the archbishop, but likewise all the temporal jurisdictions of the clergy.

Thus, while the national assembly of France were inflicting the deepest wounds on the Roman church, her Most Faithful Majesty suffered herself to be hurried away by the torrent of example, and contributed her share toward embittering the cup of mortification for the pope. But she soon perceived the dangers to which the

progreſs of French principles at once expoſed both the altar and the throne : ſhe ſuſpended her reforms : ſhe participated the wiſhes, and at length the exertions, of the other European powers who had conſpired againſt the moſt formidable enemy of the Holy See.

The duke of Modena, too, proved himſelf at the ſame time a troubleſome neighbour to the Holy See, as well as an unruly ſon. From his progenitors he had inherited pretenſions to the duchy of Ferrara, which had been wreſted from his family in 1598. He had made repeated efforts to enforce his claims, and even proceeded, in 1784, to ſome military preparations which alarmed Pius's fears : but the great catholic courts extended their protection over the pontiff's temporal power, as their quarrel lay only againſt the uſurpations of his ſpiritual authority. The duke of Modena did not follow up his projects : but in the following year he executed one which his philoſophy had long before planned : he for ever aboliſhed the inquiſition within his little ſtate, which had more than once been diſturbed by the agents of that execrable tribunal ; and to the biſhops alone he intruſted the care of watching over the purity of the faith.

Finally, even in Switzerland, of which the catholic portion had ever been reckoned among

the most zealous supporters of the papal despotism, measures were adopted to prevent the usurpations of the nuncio at Lucern.

Amid this universal conspiracy of the catholic sovereigns against the Holy See, the duke of Parma was almost the only one who continued unconditionally enslaved to it. Educated by philosophers, he had stood constantly on his guard against their irreligious maxims: and on him was now devolved the task of atoning for the uneasiness which his state had given to the court of Rome under the pontificate of Clement XIII. His excessive devotion consoled and encouraged the succeeding pontiffs. While all the other governments were employed in abolishing the inquisition, or at least restricting it within certain bounds, the duke of Parma, moved by divine inspiration, determined to re-establish it. This measure, he asserted in his edict, was dictated by "his paternal affection for his people, with the view of screening them from the poison of heresy and incredulity." He even promised to assist that tribunal with an armed force, if necessary. He next undertook its apology, which he addressed to the tribunal itself, and vindicated it from the injustice with which it was condemned by its enemies: "although," said he, "the holy office ever acts with moderation, and with all that mild-

“ nefs which characterifes the church, the wick-
 “ edness of the age paints it nevertheless in the
 “ most odious colours.” The inquisition required
 his encouragements by the most severe vigilance ;
 and the state of Parma, above every other in
 Europe, might claim the honour of being the
 most fanatical and superstitious. Its prince sur-
 rounded himself, in his seat at Colorno, with sa-
 cred pictures and reliques which he had pro-
 cured from Rome ; and, by so many merits, he
 was well entitled to rank as the most faithful
 son of the church. Hence he obtained from
 the Holy See a testimony of good-will, which he
 alone was capable of duly appreciating : he had
 long solicited permission for the priests in his
 state to celebrate three masses on Easter-day ;
 and that *signal favour* was granted as a reward of
 the pious zeal which had impelled him to re-
 establish the inquisition.

Such had, during sixteen years, been the rela-
 tions, more or less hostile, of most of the Euro-
 pean powers with the court of Rome. During
 that long interval, France—who had even
 during the dark ages marched at the head of
 all the governments that opposed the usurpations
 of the papacy—seemed to have concluded with
 it a truce for many years to come. But sud-
 denly she started from her trance : and, being
 herself whirled along by a tide of the most im-

perious circumstances, she assailed and overturned that ancient throne of which philosophy had on every side sapped the foundations.

But, before we enter on a description of that grand catastrophe, we think it necessary more particularly to explain what was, a short time before, the state of that Roman government, whose long duration ought more powerfully to excite our astonishment than its overthrow.

CHAPTER XXIII.

*State of the Roman Government, previous to the
Period of its Overthrow.*

IN one of the preceding chapters we have noticed the chief part of the defects of the Roman government. They alone might, in any other country, have been sufficient to occasion its overthrow: but, among a people void of energy—engaged by superstitious exhibitions—visited by so many foreigners, of whom some diverted the Roman's attention from the consideration of his grievances, while others relieved his distress—under a mild climate where the wants of nature are few and easily supplied—placed in a political situation where each day produced fresh aliment for his curiosity, each year some new gratifications or at least some hopes to feed his ambition of whatever kind—under a government destitute indeed of force, but administered without tyranny—under a government, in short, over which, according to the notions of the vulgar, God himself and his apostles seemed immediately to preside—abuses which would have been the least tolerable in other countries and other

circumstances, might have long supported themselves in peaceful impunity.

Toward the last years, however, which immediately preceded the French revolution, those abuses had risen to such a height, that even those observers who were the least disposed to gloomy anticipation presaged serious calamities to the Holy See: such in particular was the moderate, the conciliating, and one might say the optimist, cardinal de Bernis.

The Roman government was guilty of culpable neglect especially in two particulars on which chiefly depends the prosperity of a state—morality and finance.

All classes in the state were tainted with immorality—not indeed that immorality of principle, that unblushing impudence of depravity, which publicly proclaims its infamy, and mocks at all scruple: on the contrary, vice, instead of wearing at Rome a disgusting appearance, cloaked itself with all those disguises which could either palliate it or at least render it supportable. It sometimes adopted the language of virtue, and constantly wore the mask of devotion. There, as in almost every country where great importance is attached to religious ceremonies and where consequently they are brilliant and numerous, people thought they had performed their duty as good men and Christians, when

they had acquitted themselves of their external obligations. The Romans, even those of the most enlightened class, combined the irregularities of vice with the practices of superstition. In a word, Rome was the true country of modern Pharisees.

At their head marched the members of the Sacred College. These, almost to a man, essentially vicious from principle as well as inclination, saw in the catholic religion three objects very distinct from each other—its *morality*, of which the maxims were constantly in their mouths, which they never observed except on occasions of publicity and when it required of them no great sacrifices, and which they boldly violated whenever they were sure of secrecy and impunity;—its *dogmata*, which they professed in public with fanatic emphasis, but which they laughed at in private;—its *discipline*, for the maintenance of which they would have set the universe in flames, provided they could themselves escape the ravages of the conflagration. To render their conduct a complete practical system of depravity, nought was wanting except scandalous notoriety: but, instead of that, hypocrisy closed the black list. There now were no longer to be found any real Tartuffes * except in

* *Tartuffe* is the name of an arch-hypocrite in one of Molière's plays.

one spot of Europe : that spot was Rome ; and those Tartuffes were the cardinals, and the candidates for the cardinalitian dignity. Of the three vows by which they were bound, they were faithful to the observance of only one—the vow of obedience ; but it was that servile obedience which invites the hand of despotism, and affords a sufficient apology for its oppressions. Under a vain grimace of affected humility they concealed all the refinements and lofty pretensions of pride. With respect to the most difficult of all the Christian virtues, it is well known how they practised it : that sex which is called indiscreet was not the only one at whose mercy their secrets lay : and, in this particular at least, they bore a strong resemblance to those Cæsars whom they had succeeded.

This mixture of presumptuous ambition and feigned humility, of external decorum and internal corruption, of apparent superstition and secret incredulity, had stamped on all their Eminences a peculiar character by which it was impossible not to recognise them. Their words, their looks, their features, every thing about them was false. Habituated from their early age to dissimulation and distrust, they suspected each other, guessed at each other's thoughts, but never betrayed their own. Resembling in many

particulars the *haruspices* * their predecessors, they differed from them in one, which was that they did not laugh on meeting each other. Hence the difficulty of defining a prince of the Roman church: hence the diversity of features under which they have been generally portrayed, and the diversity of characters under which they have been alternately seen to act.

Such models might well be expected to find imitators. Being the channels through which most favours flowed, the organs through which most applications were made, and all possessing a certain share of influence, it was natural that they should be surrounded by clients interested in pleasing them: and to please it was necessary to resemble them. Accordingly, by progressive degrees, all the Romans formed themselves after the example of the cardinals, with such differences only as a more or less refined education might be expected to place between them. In other countries the court take the *ton* from the sovereign: here the college of cardinals was the sovereign; and all Rome copied the pattern

* Soothsayers who pretended to foretell future events from an inspection of the entrails of victims.—Cato the Censor, who himself belonged to the board of augurs, said he was surprised that a *haruspex* could refrain from laughing whenever he saw one of his brethren. Cicero, de Divin. ii. 24.

which they set. Among those copies, it is true, there were some hideous caricatures: the likeness extended in gradation even to the populace, who, less adroit in the art of dissimulation, knew not how to indulge in depravity without giving scandal, and united superstitious credulity and unaffected fanaticism with the coarsest irregularities of vice, ran from the temple to the tavern, and passed from the adoration of a Madonna to debauchery and assassination.

All classes, all professions, were infected by the contagion of those corruptive principles: the only exceptions to the general rule were a few individuals of the great Roman families who were peculiarly favoured by nature, some men of letters, and some artists—

Rari nantes in gurgite vasto.

It was now no longer by heretics alone that Rome was termed the modern Babylon: every thing there was venal: in civil affairs justice was administered with partiality; in those of a criminal nature, with an indolence which was mistaken for humanity. Crimes were neither watched, nor prevented, nor punished. The police was restless without vigilance: its vile agents, the *birri*, were a horde of spies and robbers, more likely to increase than prevent disorder in a moment of critical emergency. All the

spring of the administration betrayed that want of tone and vigour which is the sure precursor of approaching dissolution. The government often showed obstinacy, but never true firmness; duplicity on all occasions—on none, genuine policy. Feebleness was conspicuous in all its measures; and the national want of spirit was discoverable even in the commission of crimes. Composed of such elements, the Roman state must unavoidably have been, as experience has proved that it was, easy to be overturned, difficult to be again reared from its fall.

Notwithstanding so many defects, this government would have been or at least would have appeared supportable, if the finances and every thing connected with them had been better administered—if provisions had been more plenty and less dear. But even the first principles of political œconomy were unknown at Rome. Still, however, some improvement might have taken place if the modern Romans had imitated the conduct of their ancestors, who copied the wise institutions of their Tuscan neighbours. But they did not follow that example: they saw near their frontiers the state of Tuscany prospering under a system diametrically opposite to that which long custom had consecrated among them; and they conducted them-

elves as if they thought that the promised immutability of the church were connected with that of their administration.

On a former occasion we have spoken of the Apostolic Chamber, and of its defective organisation. On it in great measure depended the finances; and their ruined state bore testimony to its want of skill. The evil, it is true, might be traced back to the pontificate of Sixtus V. whose ambitious enterprises had begun to involve the chamber in debt. He had borrowed nearly ten millions of Roman crowns, of which he expended one half on aqueducts, obelisks, embellishments. The other moiety he had deposited in the castle of Saint-Angelo, as a reserve appropriated to the purchase of corn in times of scarcity. He had at the same time endeavoured to establish a sinking-fund: but his plan was not followed; and the public debt had increased under his successors. Some of them, however, had proved that the disorder might be remedied by a prudent œconomy. Clement XIV., for instance, had, in five years, saved above a million and half of French livres. But Pius, instead of treading in Clement's steps, displayed such stately pomp, and engaged in such expensive schemes, that the grievances of the people were accumulated and their menacing

murmurs were heard even in the first years of his pontificate.

The Ecclesiastical State possessed none of those resources which can furnish prompt and efficacious remedies. Its commerce was almost entirely passive, except some exportations of wine and oil—that of corn when the harvest was good in the provinces washed by the Adriatic sea—that of wool and silk, which were almost entirely sent out of the country instead of being manufactured at home. Its industry, as we have already seen, was next to a nullity. The balance of trade was wholly to the disadvantage of the Romans, who must in a short time have been entirely exhausted of their specie, if the *datario* and the chancellery had not drawn back a part of it from the different catholic countries of Europe. But what these two offices received was not sufficient to save the treasury from debt; since from them was derived a part of the cardinals' incomes, together with the salaries of that host of persons employed in expediting briefs and bulls. It was difficult to ascertain the total of those tributes, equally disgraceful to those who received as to those who paid them: but there is reason to think that in 1788 the aggregate revenues of the *datario* and the chancellery still amounted to two millions four hun-

ated and thirty-five thousand Roman crowns. Such nearly was the sum of specie which flowed into Rome to supply the place of that which was drained away by the numerous importations from foreign countries. Exclusive of this, the Apostolic Chamber received between fourteen and sixteen millions of livres arising from certain lands belonging to it, from the farming of certain taxes paid by the *communes* of the Ecclesiastical State, from the taxes on butchers' meat and on corn entering the city of Rome, from the produce of a lottery, and from the duties on the importation of foreign commodities. But from these revenues were to be deducted nearly five millions and half which were paid in interest by two public banks founded by the government: and the expenses were so little proportioned to the receipts, that in 1787 the former exceeded the latter by near a million and half of French livres.

In any other state, such a deficiency would have been easily supplied: but the Roman government was as barren in contrivances as in resources. Its conduct was like that of old bachelors, who pay little regard to the interests of their heirs. In the papal territory were some very rich land-owners whom it was necessary to treat with delicacy, but very few capitalists.

The great mass of the people possessed **only** precarious means of subsistence, and were supported either by their own labour, by the liberalities of travellers, or by alms from the monasteries. Could such a government have even the appearance of credit? The only mode, therefore, by which it could provide for the excess of the expenditure, was the creation of paper-money—a ruinous mode, when the government which adopts it has no securities to offer, nor any fund for redemption—a mode, which in the end cannot fail to inflame the discontents of the people to the utmost. Accordingly the improper use made of it by Pius was the chief motive by which the Romans were disposed, if not to take an active part in destroying their existing government, at least to stand unconcerned spectators of its overthrow.

That paper-money however bore no interest. It consisted of bank-notes, which were called *cedole*, and which served for all payments above the sum of ten crowns. Even in the first years of Pius's pontificate, they were at a discount of five per cent. Workmen's wages had risen, provisions likewise were become dearer, in proportion to that loss; and the evil became still worse in process of time. It was in great measure his work; and that was the principal

ground of the people's hatred to him ; for that is the species of oppression which they bear with the least patience.

There was nothing in the other branches of the administration which could reconcile the Romans to Pius. We have seen him constantly surrounded by obscure and fanatical advisers, and almost invariably shunning the counsels of his rigid friends. He did not repose his confidence in any of those who, by their situations or their talents, were entitled to it: and, without pronouncing too harsh a judgement on him, it may with truth be said that he neither knew how to govern nor suffer himself to be governed. To be convinced of the truth of this assertion, it is sufficient to take a view of his conduct toward the different cardinals who successively held the principal post of ministry under him—that of secretary of state.

Having been raised to the pontificate chiefly by the influence of the courts of Versailles and Madrid, he accepted from their hands, much rather than selected by his own choice, the cardinal Pallavicini, who had, to the last day, been his most formidable competitor. He kept on good terms with him because he was connected with the court of Spain by means of the duke de Grimaldi his cousin-german: but he never entertained for him either friendship or confi-

dence. Pallavicini felt a secret propensity in favour of the Jesuits; and that was perhaps his only point of co-incidence with the pope. They were both obliged to conceal that propensity, and even to adopt measures which were ostensibly in opposition to it: but even here they were not always in accord. The cardinal, more calm and cautious, sought to avoid even the appearance of an offence to the catholic courts; while the pontiff, impetuous and obstinate, was more ready to commit errors than to repair them.

Thus they lived nearly ten years in a relation which was reciprocally disagreeable. More than once, Pallavicini, convinced of the insufficiency of his efforts to please the capricious pontiff, wished to retire from his station. But France and Spain were as well satisfied with him as his limited influence would allow: they were certain at least that he was incapable either of doing or advising mischief: their ministers therefore pressed him to continue in office; and he yielded to their persuasions. After having drunk deep of the cup of mortification and disgust, he languished for some time, and at length died on the 24th of February 1785. Bernis and Azara personally regretted him, because he was good-natured, compliant, and well-intentioned: yet they could not forbear say-

ing to each other, "He has been useless to us, "and we have caused his misfortune."

It was chiefly on this account that they forbore to interfere in the choice of a person to succeed him. The public voice designated five candidates—the young cardinal Doria, who had been nuncio in France, and had there rendered himself an object of affection;—cardinal Garraffi, who possessed gentleness of disposition and manner, an enlightened understanding, and erudition, but whose health was feeble, whose attachment to the Jesuits was much too notorious, and who, for that and some other reasons, would not have been agreeable to the court of Spain;—cardinal Zelada, of whom we have often already spoken, and whom we shall more than once again have occasion to mention;—cardinal Archetti, who had conducted himself with sufficient prudence during his nunciature in Poland, but whose talents did not rise above mediocrity, and who had a propensity to those petty Italian *finesses* which often prove more dangerous than useful, especially in such circumstances as those in which the papacy at that time stood. His chief merit was his connexion with cardinal Antonelli, one of the most enlightened members of the Sacred College, who had removed from the minds of the French and Spanish courts the prejudices which they had conceived against

him during the embassy of Monsieur Aubeterre, but in whom, nevertheless, they did not yet repose entire confidence. — The fifth candidate was the prelate Sylva, a man not destitute of talents, but who was not yet sufficiently known.

Of these five candidates, two alone, Doria and Archetti, fixed the attention of the pontiff, who for some time hesitated between them and the cardinal Buoncompagni. Respecting this delicate choice, he consulted Bernis, without whose approbation he was sensible that he ought not to determine; France being at that time the power with which it was most incumbent upon the Holy See to keep on good terms, and the prudence of cardinal de Bernis, the French minister, inspiring the pontiff with sincere esteem for him. Pius compared and discussed with him the advantages and disadvantages that would attend the election of each of the three cardinals whom he had in view. “I know,” said he to Bernis, “that the first would be agreeable to your court: but he is yet very young. He may have a knowledge of foreign affairs: but is he equally acquainted with those of the home department? Besides, I do not know whether his temper and mine would agree: and at my age I can no longer offer myself violence each moment by acts of virtue.” He then avowed that the cardinal Archetti ap-

peared to him the fittest man for the ministry, as well on account of his character as of his capacity ; that, of all those who might be proposed, he would be the most agreeable to him ; “ but,” added his holiness, “ he is not rich enough. He “ is, besides, a Venetian ; and the conduct of “ his republic toward me has not been such as “ should induce me to afford it that gratification.” Hence it appears that Pius was capable of harbouring resentment, but that sometimes at least he was sincere.

At length he came to the third of those whom he had in contemplation—the cardinal Buoncompagni, whom he knew to be esteemed by the two ministers whose good-will he wished to preserve, and of whom Joseph II. had conceived so favourable an idea during his last visit to Italy. Buoncompagni had long been legate at Bologna, where he displayed considerable talents and great firmness. In that mission, however, he had made some mal-contentments. The Bolognese had a peculiar government of their own, which was a mixture of aristocracy and democracy ; and they enjoyed several privileges, of which they were jealously tenacious. The legate had opposed the kind of independence in which they wished to maintain themselves with respect to the Holy See : he had laboured to humble their grandees, under pretence of restoring to the

people their legitimate authority: but the people had of themselves perceived, or by the suggestions of others were taught to suspect, that this tender concern for their interests arose purely from his wish to substitute, in the Bolognese territory, the despotism of priests to that of the nobles.

These were grievances of which the remembrance was not obliterated by the real services which he had rendered to the country in draining part of its marshes and rendering them susceptible of cultivation. Even those very services were subjects of blame in the eyes of his censors, because the legate had not been able to undertake those useful works without increasing the debts of the province by some millions of crowns. It was even asserted that he had enriched himself during his legation; and the Bolognese considered as the fruit of his extortions that wealth which he displayed among them in the indulgence of a scandalous luxury. Whether those reproaches were well or ill founded, it certainly cannot be denied that Buoncompagni had hitherto served the court of Rome with great zeal and success, and given proofs of an extraordinary capacity: and these constitute the strongest claims to the gratitude and esteem of a despotic sovereign.

But to Pius personally he appeared liable to

very serious objections; and the pope did not conceal them from the cardinal de Bernis, but told him that he was somewhat afraid of Buoncompagni's haughty unbending disposition, and that it must be a painful task to be obliged to conduct business with a minister of that character. He nevertheless intimated his readiness to sacrifice his personal feelings for the sake of making a choice which should be agreeable to the catholic sovereigns and useful to the Ecclesiastical State.

Although Bernis did not dissemble his attachment to cardinal Buoncompagni, to whom, since his return from Bologna, he had given strong testimonies of regard, he did not choose to force the will of the pontiff; and his court, as well as that of Spain, determined that Pius should be left at perfect liberty to make his own choice. The ministers of those two courts would have been pleased, in case of Buoncompagni's exclusion, to see one of the four following cardinals elevated to the prime-ministry—Zelada, respecting whom their sentiments had never varied—Negroni, whom they had ten years before wished to raise to the papacy—Conti, who had ever been agreeable to the crowned heads on account both of his character and his principles—and Palotta, who, notwithstanding his blunt and almost rude manner, was universally

considered as the most honest man in Rome, and one of the most enlightened. But they knew that none of the four was likely to prove acceptable to the pontiff, with whom they did not co-incide in principle.

Pius, uninfluenced by any external impulse, continued near four months in suspense respecting the choice of his secretary of state. Buoncompagni was of too haughty a temper to seek to fix the wavering mind of the pontiff, who, on the other hand, was not sorry to prolong the uncertainty. Meanwhile the management of business was intrusted to the ministry of subordinate agents who cautiously avoided to thwart his will. At length, after much deliberation, the esteem which he could not withhold from cardinal Buoncompagni, the desire of making a choice which should prove agreeable to France and Spain and especially to cardinal Bernis, and the need in which he stood of a firm and enlightened man to repress the mal-contents of Rome, prevailed over his repugnance; and, before the expiration of June, he notified to the ministers of the courts of Versailles, Madrid, and Vienna, that he had chosen the cardinal Buoncompagni for his secretary of state.

This new minister had, on his first entrance into office, some very critical affairs to conduct: that of the nuncios in Germany—the disputes

between the Holy See and the court of Naples, which were then risen to their highest degree of warmth—the arrest of the cardinal de Rohan, of which we shall speak in another place—soon made him regret his legation at Bologna, where he had found a greater facility of acquiring fame and of doing good. Besides, it was not long before he saw a host of enemies arising against him. Of these, one who took the least pains to disguise his enmity was the pontiff's own nephew, who had for a considerable time been in expectation of the cardinal's hat, and had obtained it shortly after Buoncompagni's installation. On this occasion he received marks of affectionate regard from all the distinguished characters in Rome; and those testimonies of affection were at that time sincere; for he was universally beloved. About the same period his uncle appointed him secretary of the briefs, an office for life, which conferred on him great privileges.

Buoncompagni took the alarm on beholding so many favours conferred upon a man by whom he knew himself not to be viewed with the eyes of friendship. He saw moreover that the nephew was eager to trench upon his rights, and to form a counterpoise to his influence: whereupon he testified his uneasiness to the pontiff, who assured him that he had his entire confi-

dence—he meant, no doubt, all the confidence which he was capable of reposing in any man. Pius at first treated Buoncompagni with greater cordiality than had been expected; and the latter exerted sufficient command over his temper to prevent its being productive of any of those scenes which the pope himself had apprehended. This transient good understanding was chiefly attributable to the cares of the cardinal de Bernis, who himself thought it would be durable, and congratulated himself on it as his own work. He was pleased to see Pius consult his secretary of state, and—what was more wonderful—follow his advice. He imagined that a reformation had taken place in the pontiff's mind; and in the year 1787 he wrote to his court, “Pius begins to feel that statesmen are more necessary to him than theologians.”

The influence of Buoncompagni's temperate prudence was particularly discernible in the conduct of the Roman court at the period of the attempts made by the bishop of Pistoja. Pius concealed his vexation on beholding that prelate so formally wage war against the Holy See, and his joy on witnessing his defeat. During the ministry of Buoncompagni, the quarrel with the Neapolitan court continuing to acquire additional animosity, he thought that a personal interview would more powerfully operate to effect

a reconciliation than the mediatory offices of the best-chosen agents. Accordingly he went to spend a month at Naples, where, though his presence did not produce all the effect which he had expected, at least he succeeded in preventing that explosion which any other person might perhaps have accelerated.

He justly appreciated the value of that frivolous tribute to which Pius's vanity annexed such consequence. He saw that bubble dissipated under his ministry, without feeling any other regret for the loss than what was occasioned by the mortification with which he saw Pius affected. Through his hands passed all the reclamations, demands, protests, and long memorials, by which the court of Rome hoped to bring that of Naples to a greater degree of deference for the Holy See. He had clearly foreseen how inefficacious all his means would prove toward accomplishing the desired object: but a circumstance still more unpleasing to himself personally, was that these discussions in which he was the organ, exposed him to the risk of incurring the ill-will of that court whose friendship he for powerful reasons wished to cultivate. His family possessed very considerable estates in the dominions of the Neapolitan monarch, and, among others, the principality of Piombino, which alone yielded an annual income of above two

hundred thousand livres. His friends had long continued urging him to quit a post in which he did not enjoy a degree of authority sufficient to compensate the embarrassments in which it involved him, the dangers to which it exposed both himself and his relatives. For some time he resisted their solicitations.

Those who have had a closer acquaintance with cardinal Buoncompagni, judge him with less severity than Gorani has done. According to their description, he was a man of understanding and honour, who felt the ambition of an exalted soul—that of rendering service to his country at the same time that he laboured to acquire fame for himself. Notwithstanding some marks of affection from Pius, he soon discovered that it would be impossible for him to gain the pontiff's entire confidence, without which he never could accomplish that laudable object. It was refused to him in every thing which concerned the affairs of the home department. Toward the commencement of the year 1789, his family even excited his apprehensions lest, unknown to him, an accommodation should be negotiated between the pope and the court of Naples. His disgust became each day more visible; and it acquired additional strength from the appearance, at that period, of a work published in France, under the title of “Critical and im-

“ partial Reflexions on the Revenues and Con-
 “ tributions of the Clergy in France, or Ex-
 “ tracts of Letters written in 1786 and 1787
 “ to his Eminence the Cardinal Buoncompagni
 “ Ludovisi, by the Abbé de M....” This
 publication was the prelude to an attack made
 in that same year on the French clergy. The
 cardinal was more than astonished to find him-
 self presented to the public as concerned in dis-
 cussing a question of a nature so delicate for the
 Holy See : and he protested that he had had no
 intercourse whatever with the author, whose
 principles he was far from approving. It almost
 invariably happens that we only confirm suspi-
 cion by the warmth of our efforts to repel it.
 Thus it fared with the cardinal in this instance :
 his enemies interpreted his protestation in their
 own way, and congratulated themselves on the
 importance which it gave to the French abbé’s
 publication, beyond what it had possessed even
 in France.

These various motives impelled Buoncom-
 pagni to form the resolution of retiring. He
 communicated his intention to his friends Bernis
 and Azara. “ I am determined,” said he, “ to
 “ resign the ministry : but I will do it nobly,
 “ without uttering a complaint, and especially
 “ without asking any remuneration.” Those
 two ministers laboured to dissuade him from his

purpose : " he possessed," they said, " the public esteem, even that of the pope, if he did not enjoy his entire confidence: he was agreeable to the crowned heads; and in the crisis with which the Holy See was threatened, such a man as he was necessary. Besides, how could he dispose of himself in retirement? accustomed as he had been to business, he would feel himself overpowered by the burden of unemployed leisure."

For some time Buoncompagni yielded to the solicitations of his friends. The pontiff was no doubt informed of his intention, and of the dissatisfaction which had prompted it: he affected to testify a more than usual regard for him, and even conferred on him a favour of no ordinary kind by appointing one of his near relatives governor of the castle of Saint-Angelo, an office which was usually reserved for the pope's nephews. But Buoncompagni was a man whose resolutions were not easily shaken. He gained certain information that his interposition was eluded in the negotiation with the court of Naples: he entered into a warm explanation on the subject with the pontiff; he upbraided him with his mysterious secrecy, and with the confidence which he reposed in a certain Neapolitan prelate who had not the confidence of any body else.

Pius, not choosing to subject himself to the

reproach of having caused the retirement of so valuable a man, and being awed by the energetic character of the cardinal, used dissimulation with him, and listened to his complaints with an appearance of interest: but Buoncompagni did not mistake the pontiff's real disposition, and now more strongly than ever felt the impropriety of continuing in the ministry.

Almost every year Pius paid a visit to the Pontine marshes. On the eve of his departure he saw cardinal Buoncompagni make his appearance: "It is time," said the latter, "that I frankly enter into an explanation with your holiness. I accepted the ministry which you offered to me, because I hoped, that, aided by your confidence, I should be able to perform its functions with honour. My expectation has been disappointed: my health is injured: my strength is no longer adequate to the task which I have undertaken. Obstacles of every kind concur in rendering it each day more difficult to me. It is a duty which I owe to your holiness, a duty also to myself, to resign a post in which I cannot be serviceable."

Pius appeared astonished and even afflicted by his determination, which he combated with the tone of sincerity, with the accents of friendship. "No!" said he: "you shall not abandon me

“ in the midst of the critical circumstances in
 “ which I am placed. Come to me at Terra-
 “ cina : we will there discuss the motives of your
 “ resolution ; and I hope it will not be proof
 “ against my arguments, and especially my so-
 “ licitations.”

Pius imagined he had shaken the cardinal's purpose : but Buoncompagni was not hasty in forming his determinations ; and when once they were formed, it was difficult to make him alter them. On this occasion he had consulted nobody : and it was not till after the above explanation that he communicated the affair to Bernis and Azara, who now plainly perceived, from the step which he had taken, and from their knowledge of Pius's temper, that no hope of accommodation any longer remained. Another circumstance moreover contributed to increase the disgust of the cardinal secretary of state, and to render it invincible : that was the influence which the prelate Ruffo had acquired.

We have already explained the nature of his claims to the pontiff's good-will. Pius wished to repay to him the services which he had formerly received from the cardinal Ruffo his uncle. He promoted him to that office which affords the amplest scope for doing good or doing mischief—the post of treasurer to the Apostolic Chamber, from which he had removed the ho-

best cardinal Palotta, to make room for a man who combined amenity of manner and brilliancy of talents with depravity of morals and insatiate avidity. Ruffo was callous to all scruple whenever there was question of gratifying the pope's wishes, and enriching his nephews. Thus it was that he had gained a preponderancy, to which every thing must yield, every thing in fact did yield, except the noble pride of the cardinal Buoncompagni, and the austerity and frankness of the Spanish minister, the chevalier Azara.

The latter, who was in the habit of telling the pope such bold truths, and of telling them often with success and ever with impunity, spared no pains to prevent that fatal ascendancy which the prelate Ruffo was daily acquiring. What motive could he have had to repress his zeal? He expected no favours from the pope, and he spoke in the name of one of those sovereigns whose friendship Pius felt himself the most interested in preserving. The Spaniard recollected that it was to him the pope's nephew was indebted for the title and dignity of a grandee of Spain: and Pius did not seem sufficiently to remember that service. Azara took advantage of all these circumstances to attack the various disorders which had, especially of late

years, made an alarming progress. The pontiff listened to him with apparent deference, yet followed the suggestions of his flatterers. The chevalier Azara, at length convinced of the inefficacy of his remonstrances, tried during some time to forbear grating his holiness's ear with their unwelcome importunity.

Azara's coolness alarmed Pius, who could show sufficient suppleness of disposition whenever interest or fear rendered it necessary. The latter unbosomed his uneasiness to the cardinal de Bernis, who had kept himself at a distance since the time when he had seen that, in spite of his counsels, the court of Rome was hurrying on to its own destruction. But Bernis was of a temper to be easily brought back: he did not resist the flattering caresses of the pontiff: he exerted himself to dissipate the clouds which had arisen between him and the chevalier Azara. The pope, who well knew the influence which that minister enjoyed in the Spanish court, again turned to him, loaded him with civilities, and affected to seek his advice on occasions of difficulty. At this period he had formed the project of increasing the already scandalous opulence of the duke his nephew by making to him a cession of the duchy of Castro and Ronciglione. Azara had spoken his sentiments on the subject with his

usual severity : and the pope dared not, for the present, venture to carry his design into execution.

But, in every other respect, the ascendancy of Ruffo was uncontrollable. Buoncompagni, whose intentions were upright and whose principles were those of a statesman, saw that it would be vain for him to struggle against such an antagonist ; and this was one of the chief motives which confirmed him in his resolution of retiring.

The gout, to which he was subject, prevented him from repairing to Terracina : and Pius, on his return from the Pontine marshes, found him, as he had left him, determined on quitting the ministry ; a determination which no doubt gave the pontiff secret pleasure. He now saw that he ran no risque in renewing his solicitations, and therefore again entreated the cardinal not to abandon him. " You complain of your health," said he to him feelingly. " Well, then ! be attentive to it : take all the time necessary to re-establish it. Go, breathe a purer air : try some salutary baths : I pledge you my word that I will do nothing material in your absence without consulting you."

Accordingly Buoncompagni set out for the baths of Vicenza. He there remained some months, less employed in the re-establishment of his health than in the composition of a long

memorial against his antagonist Ruffo. Reflexion, and retreat which is so favourable to it, only confirmed him in his resolution. Notwithstanding the hypocritic entreaties of the pontiff, he perceived that the impression, made on his holiness's mind by the explanation which had taken place between them, still continued and would long continue with unabated force. In September 1789, he sent in to him his resignation, to which Pius replied in honorific terms that served as a cloke to palliate his spleen and vexation. The ex-secretary did not longer than ten months survive his disgrace; for such was the light in which he considered his retirement, though on his part voluntary.

The breast of Buoncompagni panted with inordinate ambition. It has been asserted that chagrin hastened the period of his existence—an assertion which, if true, would prove in him a weakness of mind very far from compatible with what the world knows of him, with his uncommon energy of character, his robust constitution, and that imperturbable insensibility which is perhaps necessary in a statesman, but which his censurers have considered in him as a very grievous fault. Envy has not spared his memory: Gorani has attributed to him many defects, and even vices; but those who have had a nearer view of his conduct judge him with less

severity. He certainly did not possess either the humility, or especially the chastity, of a Christian. But the cardinal de Bernis and the chevalier Azara, who had better opportunities than Gorani of appreciating him, never thought that his talents were but superficial.

The period of his retirement was that when the Holy See was beginning to suffer the most formidable attacks from France. A minister of Buoncompagni's character, equally prudent as he, but enjoying greater authority, would then have been very necessary to the Roman pontiff. The Sacred College contained no cardinal of that temper: those who possessed any capacity, either were viewed with very suspicious eye by the catholic powers, or would have been unacceptable to the pope. The ministers of France and Spain again proposed the cardinal Zelada, whom they had invariably esteemed, and against whom Pius fostered no prepossession.

Zelada, as we have already seen, was adroit and insinuating. In peaceable times he might have been a fit person for the pontiff's choice: but his character, naturally void of energy, was moreover enfeebled by age and infirmities. He was at this period seventy-two years old: he was himself sensible of his own insufficiency, and alleged it, in objection, to his two friends and even to the pope: he yielded however to

their solicitations, but soon repented of his compliance. If he had confined himself to the same sphere in which he had hitherto moved, as the enlightened protector of the arts, librarian of the Vatican, director of the Pio-Clementine Museum, he would, in spite of the calumnies of his enemies, have continued to be the object of public esteem, the conspicuous Roman individual with whom foreigners of all classes were the most anxious to be acquainted, and with whose behaviour they had the greatest reason to be satisfied. But he yielded to the delusive suggestions of tardy ambition: his reputation suffered a partial eclipse when he attempted to sustain a character not suited to his cast: the man of letters, the man of science, the man of amiable disposition, was forgotten: the only light in which he was now viewed was that of an incompetent minister. Thus he exchanged his peaceful and easy enjoyments for the storms of the ministry, and for those chagrins which embittered his declining years. He suffered the preparatory steps to be taken for overthrowing, and even by his own injudicious measures accelerated the overthrow of, that government over which he had the vanity to preside. A witness of the first disasters of the Holy See, he possessed neither sufficient firmness nor sufficient skill to either prevent or alleviate them. He had the

mortification of hearing them imputed to himself, and of finding none but censurers among his own countrymen, and implacable adversaries among the French, among that very nation which hitherto had never mentioned his name but in the language of encomium and admiration.

But his short and inglorious ministry is connected with the French revolution; and, before we conclude this work, it is proper that, in recounting the misfortunes of which that event was productive to the Holy See, we complete the picture of Pius's pontificate by presenting a retrospective sketch of his connexions with France previous to that epoch which proved so fatal to him.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Connexions between France and Pius VI. down to the Revolution in 1789.

IT must ever be considered as a singular event in the history of the court of Rome, that the nation which effected at least its temporal destruction, was precisely that particular one among all the European nations of which it had before had the least reason to complain. While Spain, in her implacable animosity against the Jesuits, harassed Pius whenever he betrayed the slightest symptom of partiality to them, the court of France, it is true, co-operated with her as in a common cause: but it was easy to perceive that this was done rather through complaisance to ally than from any sensation of personal uneasiness. The danger of the defunct society's intrigues, which appeared so imminent to Spain, made little impression on the ministry at Versailles. In France, Fanaticism had shrunk back in retrograde motion before the light beaming from the torch of Philosophy. Some members of the superior clergy occasionally endeavoured

to aid the former in recovering her lost ground : but they experienced little support or countenance ; and the decrees of public opinion superseded the necessity of any which the court might have issued. The pretensions of the priests, which at the commencement of the century had still continued to cause some alarms, were now treated with ridicule by the bulk of the nation, and no longer excited any uneasiness in the breast of government. The devotees alone viewed the clerical order with a sort of religious awe ; but devoteeship was now confined to the obscure classes of the community, and its professors had ceased to be formidable. There were few enlightened or powerful men who really felt the devotional spirit ; and those who did not had no interest in affecting it. Religion was therefore insensibly losing its sway : no more of it was preserved than what was necessary for the support of the royal authority. Its ministers, even those of most exalted grade, unscrupulously resigned themselves to the indulgence of all the worldly passions, and did not even take the trouble of assuming the mask of hypocrisy. There now hardly existed between the Gallic and the Roman courts any relations except those of habit and courtesy : and, as the former had no longer any thing to fear from the latter, neither did she seek to be feared by her. Accordingly we see,

that, from the first year of Pius's pontificate until the year 1789, very few discussions of an intricate nature took place between France and Rome.

Will it be believed that one of the first objects which occupied the attention of the cardinal de Bernis, under the new pontificate was the research to be made in France for the discovery of proofs to establish the saintship and attest the miracles of "the blessed queen Joan de Valois," first wife to Louis XII. and founder of the order of the Annunciation, who had been beatified by Benedict XIV. in the year 1743? Solicitations had long been made by the court of France for her canonisation: and it was a cardinal, once a courtly abbé, the voluptuous author of the "Four Parts of the Day," and an amiable philosopher, who did not disdain to be the agent in this momentous negotiation! But the business involved one of those chimeras on which were founded the splendor and power and opulence of the church; and, to promote such important interests, even the most enlightened and otherwise honest men made no scruple to render themselves the organs of imposture.

This was not the only disgraceful tie by which France was at that time connected with the court of Rome, and continued so connected until the memorable æra of the revolution. It is suffi-

ciently known that the bishops, the abbots, the holders of those benefices which are termed *consistorial*, because the nominations to them were proclaimed by the pope in a consistory of cardinals, were obliged to pay for the issuing of the bulls without which they could not take possession;—that an office called the *datario* * had the charge of issuing them;—and that the fees which it required of the person promoted, were, by the *concordatum* of Francis the First, fixed at one year's income of the benefice. It is true, an abatement was most commonly obtained on the established price of the bulls: Clement XIV., naturally disinterested, had been very accommodating in compromises of that kind: but Pius, at the very outset, showed himself more rigid in his demands: and, what will appear very strange, he really fancied himself bound in conscience to act with that strictness. Thus, by a most extraordinary subversion of the principles of that religion which in its very infancy had so formally forbidden simony, the heads of the catholic church had carried the prohibited practice to such extent that they at last became scrupulous of not being as simoniacal as it was possible: and the sage Bernis himself, when directed, on each change of benefices, to solicit a diminu-

* The *datario* was rather the person at the head of the office in question.

tion of the amount of that scandalous tax, was not far from participating those scruples. He felt a sort of compassion for that *unfortunate* Roman treasury, which these re-iterated solicitations tended to impoverish: and he more than once wrote to Versailles, when desired to present a new petition, that it was "begging alms of the poor."

Bernis, however, was in some respects excusable. He possessed in the court of Rome a certain influence of which he gave frequent proofs—an influence which, under the yoke of slavery that still pressed on us in many instances, he wished to reserve for objects of higher importance; and he was afraid of exhausting it by applications which official avidity could not receive otherwise than with repugnance. Besides—though we do not offer this as an additional argument in his justification—he was, as cardinal-protector, personally interested in seeing that source of revenue secured from diminution. This requires some explanation.

Since so degrading an institution has been abolished, never more to appear, it is not a matter of indifference to learn by what sophisms covetousness compounded with pride in the catholic church.

The salaries of the cardinals-protectors had no connexion with those payments known by the

name of *annates*, and sanctioned by the *concordatum*. The king did not allow them any pension from his treasury: but, as they were appointed to solicit the issuing of the bulls, and to propose in the consistory the candidates for those abbeys and bishoprics to which the king had the nomination, they received, at the expense of the persons promoted, a fee equivalent to the pension which might have been allowed to them. It was a kind of assignment which the king, their debtor, gave to them on the income of the benefice which he had been pleased to confer.

When those who had been nominated to consistorial benefices wished to have the honour of being proposed by the pope himself in the consistory, that they might the sooner gain possession, they paid two different sums called *propina*, the one for the pope, the other for the cardinal-protector.

But, when the latter was directed to propose for benefices, the bulls were not issued until after two formalities had taken place. He was first obliged to proclaim the candidate in a previous consistory; then, in a second, to make the formal proposition of the consistorial benefice to which the pope had nominated. Thus the candidate lost as much in point of time as he gained in point of economy: for in this case he had but one *propina* to pay; but then, on

the other hand, he had to wait sometimes six months for the issuing of his bulls. In either event, the cardinal-protector was sure of receiving his *propina*: and, after all, he was, under that pompous title, nothing more than an agent employed by his nation in ecclesiastic and beneficiary affairs, and particularly those of which the decision was confined to the consistory.

From these details it must evidently appear that the cardinal de Bernis was personally interested in preserving the revenues of the Holy See. The single article of the *propine* annually yielded to him, on an average, from twenty-four to thirty thousand livres. He was not greedy: but the high style in which he was rather accustomed than obliged to live did not allow him to be perfectly disinterested. It was therefore always with a sort of repugnance, though always with success, that he applied for abatements: and this was during several years his most important employment, and the only contrariety he experienced at Rome.

We shall but slightly mention the opposition in 1775 by the French clergy to the project of uniting the useless order of the Antonines with that of Malta. Louis XVI. had already agreed with Pius on that business: the briefs which the pontiff was to issue were prepared; when suddenly the French prelates, animated by laudable

zeal for what they termed the interests of the church, addressed very urgent remonstrances to the pope on the subject of the intended union. We will not trouble our readers with a detail of the erudite theologic arguments by which they endeavoured to awake scruples in the breast of his holiness: it will be sufficient to observe that Pius found himself very much embarrassed on the occasion, and thought it his duty to suspend the issuing of the briefs, and appoint a congregation to examine that question of so unimportant a nature. He seriously said to Bernis, who listened to him, consoled him, encouraged him, and sometimes scolded him, "That measure is indispensable, if I wish to avoid exposing myself to reproach or remorse." The court of Versailles thought proper to allow him time for reflexion.

The pope, already ill advised, gave to the bull of incorporation a new form which displeased our ministry, who testified their displeasure with considerable warmth: and this was perhaps the only time previous to the revolution, when France assumed toward him a menacing tone. Vergennes wrote to Rome—"Let them not drive us to extremities: let them not force us to recollect the distinction, already so well known, between religion and politics.—Tell the pope," added he—"make him thoroughly

“ sensible—that impunity is not to be expected
 “ in sporting with a king who is the firmest pil-
 “ lar of the pontifical throne.”—Vergennes had
 not an idea that he was uttering truths which
 would ere long be felt in their fullest force.

This pitiful affair chagrined the pontiff, whose mind was already tormented by more than one subject of uneasiness. It caused suspicions to fall on his friend, one of the principal authors of his elevation, the cardinal Giraud, to whom the ministry at Versailles attributed the impertinent modelling of the bull, and whom they accused of ingratitude. The cardinal de Bernis was sensibly hurt by the imputation: he bore a friendship to cardinal Giraud: he defended him with warmth, and, what was not usual on his part, in a style bordering upon harshness. He intimated that encouragement was too incautiously given in France to those philosophic maxims which, though good in themselves, might, in their application, involve the overthrow of religion, and, in successive gradation, that of many prejudices which it was important to preserve. This was certainly very natural language in the mouth of a courtier and a cardinal; but at the same time it proves that Bernis was endued with a sagacity of which that period furnished few examples, and a foresight which he has himself seen justified by subsequent events.

But this first storm was dissipated: the pope yielded; and the incorporation of the order of Saint Antony was effected in the mode that we had wished. The French clergy, who still thought themselves possessed of some strength, were not discouraged by this failure of success: two years after, they thought proper to remonstrate with the pope on his condescension for our government: they sounded the alarm on occasion of the suppression of some monastic orders. Pius already knew what he had to expect from an attempt to thwart a powerful sovereign whose support was necessary to him. He felt or feigned to feel a fit of anger against those prelates who seemed disposed to dictate to him. He expressly said that "their reproaches, however respectfully conveyed, contained notwithstanding a lesson which did not suit him." If he had always received their suggestions in the same manner, he would have saved France and himself from many calamities.

If we except these transient disputes, and the quarrels respecting the Jesuits, in which France made a common cause with Spain, the first eight or ten years of Pius's pontificate passed with every mark of deference on his part to the French government. Whenever there was question of any demands of a critical nature, he was careful

to compose his congregations of those cardinals, who were the least inclined to raise difficulties, and the most disposed to gratify us. This was in great measure the work of Bernis, who was his counsellor, his comforter, and very rarely his censor. Accordingly, in 1782, the cardinal spoke of Pius in the following terms—"His virtues are more numerous than his defects; and, in his heart, he is a Frenchman."—Louis XVI. and Pius VI., in observing this mutual forbearance toward each other, seemed to have a presentiment that the time would come when each should stand in need of the other's aid: but they certainly did not foresee how fatal that harmony would prove to both parties at a time when it was no longer in season.

There reigned, then, an almost constant good-understanding between the courts of Rome and Versailles, when an incident, of as strange appearance to the one as to the other, for some time interrupted it—an incident which was very far from being unconnected with the French revolution, and consequently with the subversion of the papacy—I mean the famous prosecution of the cardinal de Rohan—that transaction which seemed preconcerted for the express purpose of at once covering with ignominy the higher order of nobility, the priesthood, and the

throne, and to serve as a pretext and an apology for the attacks which were soon after made upon them.

We will not here recall to our reader's memory the part of that shameful complication of imprudence and meanness which exclusively concerns France : our nation has already been too long fatigued and shocked with the detail of the particulars : it is our duty to recount in this place the part only which relates to the Holy See.

The intelligence of the cardinal's having been arrested even in his pontifical robes was a thunder-stroke to the pope and the whole Sacred College. Pius felt himself deeply hurt that it had not at least been formally notified to him by the king ; he nevertheless spoke of it to the cardinal de Bernis in the language rather of grief than of indignation : but he frankly owned to him that if the arrest was followed by judgment, it would be impossible for him to avoid recurring to the observance of the canonical rules.

Notwithstanding the philosophy of his principles and the moderation of his temper, Bernis at times recollected that he was a prince of the church ; and, on important occasions, he warmly supported the pretended rights of the body to which he belonged. He sent information to his court that the measure hinted by the pope

was unavoidable, if the cardinal de Rohan's trial was carried before a secular tribunal without the intervention of the Holy See and of the bishops delegated by it. The cardinal's relatives and friends had been apprehensive lest Bernis should show himself adverse to him, because they thought he fostered prepossessions against the Rohan family. But they were little acquainted with his disposition. Bernis was neither rancorous nor vindictive: he espoused the cause of his unfortunate colleague with the zeal of a generous man, and at the same time with as great moderation as could be expected of a cardinal.

The pope, on his part, though on other occasions so fiery and so impotent of his first emotions, conducted himself in this affair with greater circumspection than could have been supposed. One would have thought that his soul, softened in the school of adversity, was become more inclined to resignation. Exposed to so many contrarieties, he saw that government with which he had hitherto had the least reason to be dissatisfied, ready, like the others, to inflict a wound on the immunities of the Holy See. He saw the danger that he incurred by alienating the French court: he therefore endeavoured only to mollify and disarm it. But it was signified to him from Versailles that he

ought carefully to avoid meddling in that affair, or renewing the pretensions of the ancient pontiffs. This indirect menace deeply afflicted him: the friendship of Bernis now became more necessary to him than at any former period: he unbosomed his thoughts to him without reserve: "Write," said he, "that the king will find in me a disposition to remove every difficulty and to afford him satisfaction: but I expect from his piety some attention to the Holy See. I will not make any stir, I promise you: but can I refuse to protect the rights of the Sacred College—rights which are secured even by the *concordatum*? Confess that the question is a question of delicacy. Well! I will propose it to a congregation of six cardinals. Their opinion shall be prudent and temperate, or I will not follow it. I was urged to issue without delay a solemn brief asserting those rights of which an infringement is attempted. Perhaps I ought to do so: but—no!—I will content myself with writing a confidential letter to the king."

If the prejudices of education could have been excused in Pius, together with those of his country and station, even Philosophy herself would have pronounced this language to have been proper. But how is it possible to reconcile with philosophy, with the principles of any

good government, the pretension of a priest, whether a native or a foreigner, who thought himself authorised to interfere in the trial for an offence purely temporal? Could a *concordatum*, wrested by insolent power from the hand of weakness in an age of ignorance, be paramount to those eternal laws on which rests the independence of a state? Such are the remarks which might have been made even by a catholic, if he retained the slightest notion of justice and reason. Pius appealed to Louis's *piety*, for the purpose of gaining a triumph for his own maxims: but people began to perceive, that, according to the ideas of the Holy See and its ambitious supporters, piety was nothing else than a blind devotion to the will of the head of the church. Besides, *piety* was at that moment entirely out of the question at Versailles: the object in view was to gratify the vengeance of a woman who wore a diadem: and to that grand interest every other consideration must silently yield, and yielded in effect. But that was a circumstance of which the court of Rome either were or affected to be ignorant.

While things were in this situation, the cardinal de Rohan—hoping to mollify his enemies by resignation, or to experience greater indulgence from a tribunal to whose equity he had voluntarily intrusted himself—had submitted

the examination of his cause to the parliament of Paris. This step was a new source of mortification, a new cause of embarrassment, for the Sacred College, who saw what they termed *their rights* betrayed by one of their own members. The pope, as he had intimated to Bernis, had appointed a congregation whose opinion he should take on the momentous question of which the determination gave him such uneasiness. He had composed it of such cardinals as at that time bore the highest character for moderation—Albani, dean of the Sacred College ;—the grand penitentiary, Boschi, conspicuous for prudence, though he had signed the famous monitory against the duke of Parma ;—Borromeo, a singular character, but a man of great mental talents, and professing moderate principles with respect to the crowned heads ;—Doria, formerly nuncio in France ;—Negroni, who had invariably been agreeable to France and Spain ;—and Buoncompagni, at that time secretary of state.

The unanimous opinion of this congregation was, that the pope should write two letters, the one to his Most Christian majesty, the other to the cardinal de Rohan ; that, in the former he should represent, that, pursuant to the *concordatum*, cardinals and bishops were to be tried at Rome ; that, in the latter, he should reproach

the cardinal de Rohan with a violation of his oath in acknowledging as his judges the members of the parliament of Paris.

Pius acted in conformity to the opinion of the congregation. His language to the king was tender and almost suppliant. "I pray your majesty," said he, "that the cardinal de Rohan's cause may be carried before a competent judge, whom I will delegate in concert with your majesty. I hope you will imitate your predecessors by affording me the very great consolation of seeing, that, under your government, the rights of the church are preserved, while, to my great affliction, they are elsewhere trampled under foot in various ways," &c.

The king's ministers; without going to the bottom of the question, without even contesting the ridiculous privileges claimed by the court of Rome, answered that every man was at liberty to renounce his privileges, and that this was what the cardinal de Rohan had done. The letter itself met with an indifferent reception. Bernis was obliged to undertake its apology. According to his representation, "the pope could not, without incurring general obloquy at Rome, without dishonouring himself in the face of the church, have been silent on the occasion. Besides, had not the peers and the members of parliament their peculiar judges,

“from whose tribunal they could not be de-
 “barred? It was the less possible for the pope
 “to refrain from acting in the business, as the
 “assembly of the clergy had themselves set the
 “example of appealing to Rome.”

It was thought somewhat strange at Versailles that the cardinal de Bernis should suffer himself to be so far led astray by the spirit of his order as to maintain such indefensible pretensions. “Tell the pope,” said the ministry in their letter to him, “that our kings have never allowed
 “their hands to be tied up in that respect when
 “the affairs are, whether closely or remotely,
 “connected with state causes; that the cardinal’s offence has no relation to his episcopal
 “character; that the king could not give him a
 “greater instance of indulgence than by allowing him a choice of the mode in which he wished to be tried.”

Such arguments as these were not likely to meet a welcome reception at Rome. The cardinal de Rohan’s cause was supported there much rather because it was connected with the immunities of the church, than through any interest that was felt for him. On the contrary, the pope in particular was very angry with him for having thus lowered the dignity of the Roman purple: he was even somewhat hurt by the light unconcerned manner in which the cardi-

nal, when writing to him the first time, proposed to him a person to succeed him in his episcopal functions which he could no longer perform. The object in view (it was said at Rome) was to save the honour, not of His Eminence who was now irretrievably degraded by his own conduct, but of the church.

The pope however had no success with the court of Versailles. In vain were his complaints clothed in moderate and supplicating language : their object was appreciated with that philosophic severity which had pervaded all classes of society and even the government itself. It was intimated to Pius that he ought to avoid reviving the ancient discussions, that even his own interest should point out to him the propriety of abandoning the cardinal de Rohan, since so few people in France were inclined to favour the pretensions of the clergy. Such was the purport of the answer which Louis XVI. returned to the pope. The congregation of cardinals were again consulted, and gave it as their opinion that the pope ought to write a second letter, which, without being less pathetic than the former, should contain, in favour of the claim of the Holy See, those *so conclusive* arguments that were to be found in the sacred canons. Pius was at all times disposed to rely on the efficacy of such a remedy : nor had his affair with the emperor

yet cured him of that notion. He therefore sat down to compose, not so much a letter, as a theologic dissertation, which was hardly read in the public offices at Versailles.

Throughout Europe, the affair of the cardinal de Rohan was viewed under all its various aspects. Different opinions were entertained; different pretensions were advanced. Bernis, displaying the character of a courageous statesman rather than of a fanatic canonist, advised that this shameful business should be hushed in silence, to avoid involving the queen herself in a share of the disgrace. But the counsel came too late. The cabinet of Madrid regretted that an obscure intrigue should make so much noise, and proposed the adoption of some measure of conciliatory compromise. The emperor viewed the cardinal de Rohan as a prince of the holy Roman empire: he asserted his own rights as head of that empire, and would not consent that the pope should pronounce sentence without his concurrence. The elector of Mentz claimed his rights over a prince who, as bishop of Strasburg, was his suffragan. The diet of Ratisbon advanced its pretensions to take a part in a cause in which a state of the empire was concerned. But the parliament of Paris had the cause in their hands; and all the claims advanced were ineffectual. Bernis, however, returned to the

charge: he extolled the pontiff's moderation. "Let people beware!" said he. "They invite dangers, they will cause an explosion, if they treat the Holy See with too little respect. By dint of opposition they may yet render it formidable." And, assuming, for the conclusion of his harangue, the florid style of his youth, "Is it not better," said he, "to yield to the cooing of the dove, than to expose themselves to the screams of the exasperated eagle?"— But what an *eagle* was Pius at this period! Ah! if he had always thought proper to confine himself to his *dovely* character, he would have saved France and himself from numerous calamities.

The French government, however, had at this time no causes of complaint against the court of Rome. It was sensible that the pontiff was only acting his part as was natural: it combated his pretensions, but without acrimony. Vergennes wrote that all the vile particulars of that affair were wholly unconnected with the precepts of the gospel. The king himself returned to the pope's erudite homily a pathetic but strongly negative answer: "Let not your holiness make renewed sollicitation," said he: "for I cannot avoid renewing my refusal." And farther on—"We feel how justly your holiness is affected by the situation in which stands a bishop, a member of the Sacred College: but

"we pray you to consider that we ourselves are not free from uneasiness on occasion of this strange event. Besides, the cardinal himself has made choice of the tribunal by which he is to be judged: to remove the cause at present to any other were an instance of fickleness which would only furnish additional matter to employ the tongue of scandal."

Pius found himself in a very perplexing situation: for, while France exhorted him not to meddle in that affair, the *zelanti* at Rome accused the cardinal secretary of state, Buoncompagni, of having inspired him with too great "indifference and remissness" in his conduct. This injustice brought him over to the maxims of moderation: and he assured the court of Versailles, that, without listening to the suggestions of fanaticism, he would content himself with preserving the honour of the Holy See, and taking measures to prevent the disgrace of the cardinal de Rohan from reflecting on the whole body of cardinals.

The Sacred College showed themselves less accommodating, even with respect to the cardinal de Rohan. They seriously said to the pope, "We will rather resign our hats * than share

* The cardinal's hat, as a distinctive badge of the dignity, is sufficiently known.

“our dignity with a man who should be declared guilty of fraud, forgery, and theft.” In their private conversations, they spoke of their *unworthy* colleague in terms equally bitter. “Why,” said they, “should we retain in our body, hitherto so illustrious and respected, a brother become infamous in the eyes of all Europe, and who would be expelled from his regiment if he were a foldier?” The generality of them would have wished, that, immediately when the order was issued for arresting the cardinal de Rohan, the pope had deprived him of his hat. Pius would have suffered himself to be led to that step, if Bernis had not dissuaded him. He awaited the opinion of the congregation of cardinals respecting the mode of conduct which it was proper for him to adopt: and they decided that the pontiff ought, in full consistory, provisionally to suspend the grand-almoner of France from all the functions peculiar to the cardinalate, until he should exculpate himself to his holiness; that he ought next to give notice of this measure to the king of France, and also to the king of Poland who had proposed him as a candidate for the cardinalitian dignity.

In conformity to that decision, the pope held a consistory on the 13th of February 1786, and there pronounced a Latin discourse in which the grand-almoner was very severely treated, at

least in appearance. Pius exposed in his harangue the behaviour of the "very inconsiderate cardinal de Rohan *:" he announced the suspension of his dignities until he should, within six months at farthest, appear, either in person or by his representative, to exculpate himself from the charge of having spontaneously submitted the trial of his cause to an incompetent tribunal. "From that moment," added Pius, "he deserved to be deprived of all his ecclesiastic dignities, — as a soldier abandoning the army, ought to be degraded, expelled from the camp, and deprived of his military privileges." (The Sacred College and its head appear to have been fond of comparisons drawn from the military profession.) "But at least we cannot avoid provisionally suspending him from all the honours, all the decorations, all the rights, annexed to the cardinalian dignity, even from his right of concurring in the election of a sovereign pontiff."

Immediately after this ostentatious ceremony, the pope wrote to Louis XVI. in a very pathetic style to acquaint him with the motives of his determination: and the Sacred College notified it to the grand-almoner in a letter in which they at once began to put it in execution. In the eyes of his colleagues, Rohan was now nothing

* "Inconfutissimus cardinalis de Rohan."

more than a private individual : they with-held from him those pompous titles which the court of Rome had invented in contempt of Christian humility. They no longer address him as " Your Eminence," or " My Lord Cardinal," but simply, " You."

These apparent symptoms of anger and severity were, however, nothing more than a cloak under which lurked one of those intrigues so familiar to the Holy See. It was discovered at Versailles that the grand-almoner's secretary kept up a regular correspondence with the cardinal dean, and some other cardinals, who were attached to the party of the Jesuits ; that they employed the agency of that Victoria Lepri, who was at this time carrying on her famous law-suit against the pope, and who was in habits of intimate connexion with the Albani. Under pretence of supporting the pontifical authority, they wished to prevail on Pius juridically to summon the grand-almoner before his tribunal. This was a triumph which they wished to procure for the cardinal de Rohan, who had long been secretly connected with the principal partisans of the defunct society, and on whose influence an ill founded reliance was placed at Rome. This was a sure mode of bringing the pope under the displeasure of the courts of France and Spain. But the plot was discovered by the skill of the cardinal secretary of state, and

defeated by his firmness. It was however a great point gained by the complotters, to have led Pius to the bold step which he had taken in full consistory. The court of Versailles wished to have prevented it: but the intimation of that wish came too late. Bernis, who had a very embarrassing part to act, endeavoured to justify the pontiff to the best of his power; he signified in his letter that he had never found him more tractable than on that occasion; but that it had been impossible for Pius any longer to resist the importunities by which he was attacked on every side. "Besides," said the cardinals, of whose sentiments Bernis was the interpreter, "how can you expect us to show so great tenderness to one of our colleagues accused of very grievous offences, while you treat him so rigorously at Paris?"

Pius's brief, and the address which had preceded it, caused a great sensation in France. The brief, although worded with circumspection, must necessarily produce the effect of exciting a contest on the subject of jurisdiction in an affair which was already in the hands of the parliament of Paris. That body even maintained that the brief infringed the liberties of the Gallican church of which they had ever shown themselves zealous supporters; and they ordered the defendant to pay no regard to it.

This incident caused great perplexity to the cardinal de Rohan and even the pope himself. Should the cardinal protest against the decree of the parliament, he would produce in the minds of his judges an unfavourable disposition toward him: and could the pope overlook the affront offered to him by the public rejection of a brief which he had conceived himself authorized to issue? As the court of France did not at this time entertain unfriendly sentiments toward the Holy See, they gave a turn to the affair, which prevented all noise, without at the same time sacrificing those principles from which they would suffer no derogation. The pope's brief was, agreeably to the wish of the parliament, considered as non-existent, but not rejected with the same publicity that had attended some former transactions. With respect to the decree of the Sacred College, it was, for form-sake, delivered to the governor of the Bastille, with an injunction, however, that he should not forward it to its destination.

But this incident awakened the attention of government to the dangerous pretension of the foreign cardinals, who affected a dependence on two authorities at the same time. "What means," it was asked, "that oath which obliges them to maintain the rights, the honours, and the privileges, of their order? and *against whom*

“are they to maintain them? Can it be against their temporal sovereign? Such is the interpretation implicitly contained in the decree of the Sacred College, but which will never be admitted in France, where it would be thought better for ever to renounce all idea of having French cardinals.”

Let us observe, by the way, that this scandalous adventure of the cardinal de Rohan ought, on various accounts, to be considered as one of the efficient, perhaps even one of the most immediate, causes of the French revolution, and that it was at the same time one of the severest blows that could be leveled at the church of Rome. It disgraced the court, degraded what was called the *royal authority*, and prepared the public mind for a severe discussion of the relations existing between the catholic states and the Holy See, and of those delicate questions which despotism, if it had been prudent, would have suffered to sleep undisturbed, especially at a period when progressing knowledge led to the examination of those ridiculous prejudices which had no other sanction than that of their antiquity. How could mankind have retained any respect for that Roman church when they beheld the conduct of one of its princes, whom his own imprudence and inconsideration, to say nothing worse, had rendered the tool, the confidant, and

at length the derision, of a corrupted court ? when they saw him, amid the infamy with which he disgraced himself, attempt to retain a remnant of dignity which only served to render more conspicuous the ignominy of his situation.

The cardinal de Rohan had for his friend and confidant a certain abbé Georgel, who, on this critical occasion, served him with his usual address, but with an apostolic zeal which could not be viewed in any other than a ridiculous light. In a new consistory held on the third of April, the pope had nominated, to perform the functions of the cardinal as bishop of Strasburg, the dean of the chapter of the cathedral there. The abbé Georgel, who was one of his grandvicars, affected to impress the public with a persuasion that the suspension of the bishop's functions was but temporary, and to interest the sensibility of his flock for their pastor's captivity. In his stead he issued a mandate by which he permitted in his diocese the use of eggs during the Lent : and in that mandate he compared the cardinal to the apostle Paul " writing to the " faithful from the recesses of his prison : " and comparing himself to Saint Paul's disciple Timothy, he expressed his hope that people would pay the same attention to the disciple as to the apostle. This double comparison gave rise to several sarcasms : it was asked, at Rome parti-

cularly, whether any account was to be found in the Acts of the Apostles of Paul and Timothy having been implicated in a "necklace" business. "The cardinal de Rohan," it was said, "suffers, like Saint Paul, for his excess of faith: but is it for the faith in Jesus Christ?"

The cardinal de Bernis did not indulge in those witticisms: this unfortunate affair caused him various mortifications, and furnished him with opportunities of displaying his characteristic goodness and moderation. He knew in what light he ought to view both the disgraceful trial of de Rohan, and the pretensions of the Holy See: but, as a courtier, he feared the degradation of the court, and, as a cardinal, he felt for the immunities of the church. He had the—courage, will it be called, or weakness?—to undertake the defence of that brief which militated against our principles. He received an intimation from Versailles expressive of surprise that a French prelate should seem to approve maxims which tended to secure to the pope a jurisdiction over foreign ecclesiastics. Bernis mildly repelled the charge: but, in his answer, he ventured to defend "those privileges, which had flowed from the piety of kings."—"It was permitted," he added, "to exclaim against a violation of them, provided there existed a disposition to submit if the king thought pro-

“ per' to suspend them. At the same time he had
 “ no objection to make, nor had the pope himself,
 “ to the measure which had been adopted.—
 “ With respect to the letter written by the Sa-
 “ cred College to the cardinal de Rohan, Pius
 “ wished above all things to avoid provoking
 “ any disturbances, but he could not refuse to
 “ allow that step, urged as he had been by the
 “ sollicitations and reproaches of those who felt
 “ an interest in the dignity of the Holy See.”

. The court of Versailles condescended to admit his reasons, and even agreed that it ought to do justice to Pius's moderation. For this he was indebted to the influence of Bernis, and the temperate prudence of Buoncompagni. The latter, notwithstanding the pope's want of affection for him, had sufficient weight to stifle an affair which, at a different time and in other hands, might have produced very serious quarrels. Each party asserted their pretensions, but without ill humour. Some slight triumphs were gained: none was extorted by force: none left behind it any vestiges of animosity. The agents-general of the clergy claimed the immunities of their body in favour of the cardinal de Rohan. This was one of those conservatory acts which prove nothing, and which do not pledge to any thing.—The internuncio Pieracchi represented that his mission had entirely failed of its object.

if the pope's brief and the letter from the Sacred College remained in the hands of the governor of the Bastille without being seen by the cardinal. He was permitted to communicate them to him : for which purpose he repaired to the Bastille, and read them to the cardinal, but without allowing him to take copies of them.

The term of the cardinal's tribulations now approached : in the beginning of June, he was, by a decree of the parliament, acquitted of the crime laid to his charge : from which moment all the pretensions of the Holy See fell to the ground. But, although the cardinal de Rohan had been acquitted by a court of justice, Louis's grounds of complaint against him still remained undiminished. He was banished to his abbey of Chaize-Dieu, and commanded to resign the office of grand-almoner.—The Holy See, however, had not the same reasons for continuing its severity after the decree which had declared him innocent : the honour of the Sacred College could desire nothing further ; and the pope, in a consistory held on the 18th of June, re-instated him in his cardinalitian dignity. But he could not screen him from ridicule and shame, or remove the prejudice which such an adventure excited against the whole Sacred College.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Ecclesiastic Reforms undertaken by the National Assembly of France.

ALTHOUGH the government of France had remained an inactive and sometimes even, a benevolent spectator of those contests which the court of Rome had hitherto had to sustain against so many sovereigns jealous of their temporal authority, the sensible part of the nation was nevertheless impressed with the principles of which those sovereigns made a tardy application. It was by her historians, her canonists, and especially her philosophers, that they had been professed with the greatest energy. It was in her language, which was become the universal language of enlightened Europe, that they had been developed and brought down to the level of every mind : and there was not perhaps, during this latter half of the eighteenth century, a country in Europe where men were more tired, than in France, of the pretensions of the Holy See, more ashamed of the tributes paid to it by credulity, more shocked by the conduct of the priests, the opulence of the higher clergy, and

that innumerable mob of monks who did not even atone for their inutility by leading an exemplary life.

Among the superior classes, who alone had any influence on the government, a perfect unanimity of opinion and of wishes prevailed respecting those abuses. But to reform them was no easy task. Although the reason of every enlightened man called for their abolition, there were numbers, and these not the least powerful, who were interested in their preservation. Louis XV., amid the disorders of a sottish life, had retained a sort of mechanical devotion. A certain instinct taught him that his own power was connected with that of the church: he did not wish that it should become his rival: but he was not sorry to see it reign under him and for him. His successor, who felt a much more genuine devotion, had inherited the same maxims. Besides, under both reigns, the clergy, who constituted one of the three orders of the state, and even the only one which constantly had a kind of organisation, stood as watchful sentinels around the throne, and by their support repaid the support they received from it, whenever their own immunities did not come in collision with the regal authority.

A few sparks of philosophy had even reached a part of that order, who were called the supe-

rior clergy : and by these prelates, much more ambitious than philosophical, certain reforms had long since been projected ; but they were such as, while they diminished the prerogatives of the Holy See, were to increase the power of those projectors. They did not wish a rupture with the pontiff, whom they considered as the centre of catholic unity : but neither did they choose to live in servile dependence on him. They were sufficiently persuaded, for instance, that to the spiritual authority belonged the right of granting marriage-dispensations ; but they thought themselves competent to grant them. They participated the general wish respecting the multiplicity of convents and the enormity of their wealth : they wished to purify and thin the ranks of that numerous host of ecclesiastic militia, but not entirely to disband it. Reduced within proper bounds, they thought it useful for the defence of the church, and even, in a certain degree, contributory to their own consequence, as their vanity took a pleasure in contemplating that hierarchy of which themselves occupied the most elevated grade. Thus they were not averse to reforms : on the contrary, they wished for them—not yet aware, that, in treading that slippery path, one has not always the power of stopping where he chooses. Nay, even among the lower clergy, who were the objects of their

disdain, there were men more clear-sighted than they with respect to the common interests of the whole ecclesiastic body.

Long will be remembered the answer given by a monk to Monsieur de Loménie, since a cardinal—an answer, which, under the shape of a trifling play of words, contained a striking prophecy which subsequent events have so fully accomplished. Monsieur de Loménie, at that time archbishop of Toulouse, was president of the board of commissioners appointed by the clergy to promote the reformation of the monasteries. Conversing one day on his plan with a monk who did not entirely co-incide with him in opinion and who to the best of his power defended the cause of his brethren, the archbishop insisted, and peevishly said, “ Yes! ’tis a determined point: it is absolutely necessary to reform this *monkery* *.”—“ Take care!” replied the other: “ after the *monkery*, they will proceed to the *priestery*, and “ at length, my lord, to the *bishopry*.”

But the superior clergy were connected by too many links with the throne, and thought their existence too secure, to admit of similar sentiments. Besides, how could they foresee the

* *Moinaille*, a contemptible mob of monks: *prétraille* and *mitraille* (here rendered *priestery* and *bishopry*) are words of similarly contemptuous import, coined from *prêtre* a *priest*, and *mitre* a *mitre*.

concatenation of events which were soon to verify them? With an almost philosophic courage, therefore, they pursued that kind of reformation which was not likely to reach themselves. The court of Rome began to be alarmed at their proceedings in the year 1787, the period when the papacy suffered the most painful wounds from all quarters except France. The French clergy were assembled in one of those periodical meetings where they determined the amount of the contributions which they should pay to the king under the denomination of a free gift; and they had manifested a disposition to attempt the suppression of certain abuses. The pope was on the point of addressing to them a monitory letter to divert them from those innovations which were gaining ground in several states. He communicated his intention to the cardinal de Bernis, who combated it with that ascendancy which he always possessed over Pius, and which increased on critical occasions; and he succeeded in persuading his holiness that the measure was "at least useless."

In fact, our government was now in its turn entering the career of reforms alarming to the Holy See. We had obtained the suppression of the order of Celestines in France: during the course of the same year, 1787, we demanded, and in a tone which admits not a refusal from

a weaker power, that the Celestines of the Comtat of Avignon should also be suppressed: and, without giving to the pope any notice of our intention, we seized the property which those monks possessed in our territory. The court of Rome sighed at that violent proceeding, and especially at the ungracious manner in which it took place: but they sighed in secret, not choosing to alienate a government which had hitherto been the protector and comforter of the Holy See. At the same time a decree of the privy-council suppressed the ancient Observance* of Cluni: and it was only by the voice of public fame that the pope was informed of the transaction! It is true, we did nothing more than exert our just rights: but we had not accustomed Pius to such mortifications.

Still more poignant was his grief when he first received intelligence of an edict tending to meliorate the situation of the protestants in France. Even cardinal Buoncompagni himself, temperate as he was in every thing which did not immediately affect the interests of the holy Roman church, viewed that act with the eyes of a catholic priest. He did not scruple to be ambitious, jealous, avid of glory, to pursue a

* Some of the religious orders were split into sects and parties, the one valuing themselves on a more rigid *observance* of their original rules, than the others. Hence the term.

licentious course of life so severely prohibited by that religion whose welfare was so dear to him : he fancied that God was much less offended by his irregularities than he would be on seeing a period put in France to the persecution of some millions of peaceable subjects, who did not think as he thought, but who led a somewhat more exemplary life. Already he trembled lest the indulgence should be carried so far as to allow them the public exercise of their mode of worship.

He recovered, however, from his alarm on observing that the edict proceeded no farther than granting them the civic character, to insure the legitimate existence of their children. " But " if"—said he to the cardinal de Bernis, who was the more readily disposed to administer comfort to him, as he had seemed to participate his apprehensions—" if, as the report had prevailed, " there had been question of establishing in " France that toleration which is so much vaunted " in an age that calls itself philosophic, his holiness could not have avoided opposing to that " dangerous innovation his paternal but energetic remonstrances."

At Rome, however, the pope and his ministers were the persons who received with the greatest resignation that first effort of tolerance : the rest of the Sacred College were thrown by it

into the deepest consternation: and, in the alarm felt by their hypocritic zeal, they would even have voted for some measure which they might have called vigorous, but which the rest of the world would have justly considered as imprudent, and which would have produced no other effect than that of accelerating their downfall. But Pius's moderation checked them. Why should we not do him the justice to which he is entitled on this occasion? Why should we, violating truth under pretence of serving the cause of philosophy, render him more odious than he really was? We will assert, then—at the risk of rousing the indignation of those modern fanatics who insist that their enemy did not, could not, take any steps that were not criminal—that Pius acted, under those circumstances, with as temperate prudence as a *pope* possibly could. Not a harsh expression emanated from his pen; not an intolerant piece issued from the Roman press. The pontiff contented himself with writing to the cardinal of Senis, who had just been elevated to the post of prime-minister of France; and the purport of his letter was to congratulate him on his promotion, and to recommend to his care the catholic religion. It is true, he saw a ground of confidence in what he termed the “piety” of Louis

XVI.: it is true also that the cardinal de Bernis used all his exertions to keep him within the bounds of moderation: but was there not some merit in following a prudent counsel at such a critical moment? That prudence, however, was but transient: the influence of the cardinal de Bernis was very far from exclusive: it was often counterbalanced by that of some theologists equally blind as obstinate, of some lawyers who swayed the pontiff by means of that which most successfully operated upon his mind—by flattery.

At this period the cardinal de Bernis ought to have inspired the pope with greater confidence in him, because, although perhaps he might not internally approve his holiness's maxims, at least he adopted his language, even when addressing his own court. He conjured them to regard not the pontiff's complaints (he uttered none), but his anxieties. He was himself, he said, not far from conceiving similar uneasiness: he was afraid the development of the principles contained in the edict relative to the protestants would shake the foundations of the established religion in France: then proceeding to notice the Observance of Cluni so abruptly suppressed, it grieved him, he said, that France, which had set the example of respect for the Holy See, had been deficient in it on that occasion by not in-

winning the pontiff to concur by a brief in effecting that reform.

But the die was cast. The French court, though systematically moderate in its conduct toward that of Rome, was obliged to yield to the torrent of public opinion, which laboured to over-rule the government until able to overturn it. Even the clergy, notwithstanding the fanatic wishes of some members of their body, notwithstanding the interested wishes of almost the whole order, naturalised some principles of political œconomy amid the prejudices of catholicism. They suffered knowledge to diffuse its rays among the people, because they could not smother its light with impunity, or without danger to themselves. They admitted some maxims of that toleration whose voice was heard by every man of unwarped mind and honest heart, in the hope that by making slight sacrifices they might evade the necessity of greater and more painful. It was a kind of alliance—or, if you please, compromise—which they formed with the philosophers for the purpose of diminishing the influence of the latter, or at least participating it. But the clerical body, of which one of the principal members had just been placed at the head of the ministry, found the philosophers less generous, or more perseverant in the pursuit of

their plan, than had been expected. Their first successes, instead of disarming, inspired them with additional courage. The assembly of the *notables* was the first theatre which exhibited an energetic development of those principles that were destined to regenerate France: it was there that the bold spirit of reform made trial of its strength; and from that moment our nation must have seen what it had to hope for, and the court of Rome what they had to fear.

During the interval which elapsed between the period of this assembly and that of the *states-general*, the court, which was already alarmed on its own account, and saw that the situation of the finances was one of the principal subjects on which it would be obliged to answer, began an anxious examination of the contributions of various kinds whose weight pressed on the shoulders of the people. That which they paid to the court of Rome appeared one of those from which they ought in the first place to be relieved. That tribute had long been viewed by philosophy, and even by rational religion, as ridiculous on the part of those who paid it, shameful on the part of him who accepted it. Had it even been moderate, it would nevertheless have deserved those two epithets: but people indignantly exclaimed against the enormity of

the sums which annually flowed from France to Rome. Many persons were persuaded that they amounted to several millions: and that idea would have been just, if the annats, that is to say the entire produce of one year's income, had been strictly paid on each appointment to the consistorial benefices. But, on the one hand, at the time when the *concordatum* was concluded, each of those benefices had, in the table of rates annexed to that treaty, been estimated much below its real value; and, on the other, each new possessor of such benefices almost invariably obtained a considerable reduction of the sum which by that valuation he was bound to pay.

The following summary, taken from the *data-rio's* office itself, will prove how far people were mistaken in that respect.

From the first of January 1779 to the end of December 1788, the fees of every kind paid by French subjects amounted to the sum of seven hundred thousand three hundred and sixty-nine Roman crowns, and eighty bajocchi—about three millions six hundred and seventy-six thousand nine hundred and thirty-eight livres, fourteen sols *.

* One hundred and fifty-three thousand two hundred and five pounds, fifteen shillings, and seven pence, sterling.

They consisted of the following articles---

	Rom. Crown.	Baj.	Livres.	Sols.
For consistorial matters, bishoprics, abbeys, institutions, unions,	446,002	90		
For beneficiary matters, bulls, provisions, vacancies by decease, co-adjutorships, resignations, indults, secularisations, habitations, dispensations on account of age - - - - -	58,050	65		
For marriage dispensations	177,928	55		
For simple copies of deeds and letters of nomination, as fees for anticipated possession - - - - -	18,387	70		
Total	700,369	80	3,676,938	14
Which, taken on an average of years, made the annual sum of - - - - -			367,693	17*

During the year 1788, it is true, these payments had been heavier than in the preceding years, because the promotions had been more numerous. The sum would have amounted to a hundred and ninety-eight thousand four hundred crowns: but the cardinal de Bernis obtained a reduction of it to a hundred and twenty-five thousand eight hundred and thirteen, or about six hundred and sixty thousand five hundred and eighteen livres, five sols †.

* Fifteen thousand three hundred and twenty pounds, eleven shillings, and six pence halfpenny, sterling.

† Twenty-seven thousand five hundred and twenty-one pounds, eleven shillings, and ten pence halfpenny, sterling.

Such were the results presented to Louis XVI.'s council in the month of March 1789.

Although they fell materially short of the idea which had been formed of that tribute, the court nevertheless thought that the payment of even such a sum must prove very burdensome; especially in the existing critical state of the finances; and therefore it wished to assume to itself the merit of suppressing it. But the cardinal de Bernis stood forth as the advocate of the Holy See: he represented that it was in pursuance of the *concordatum* that those moderate contributions were paid; that, in affairs of that nature, innovations were dangerous; that he had invariably laboured to obtain as great abatements as possible, &c.

The idea of suppression had not originated in a fit of ill-will: the French government renounced it for the present; and the court of Rome thought a part of its revenues was saved. But how great were its alarms, and those even of Bernis himself, when they read, in the proceedings of several of the bailiwicks, violent declamations against the *enormous sums* which France paid for dispensations, bulls, &c. Bernis undertook to defend the cause of the papacy, not only as a theologian, but also as a statesman; "They are then ignorant," said he in writing to Versailles, "that those *enormous sums* do not, on

“ an average, annually amount to more than
 “ four hundred thousand livres *; that the im-
 “ portation of our sugars and coffee into the
 “ Ecclesiastical State causes a return of four times
 “ that sum to France; that all Rome are clad
 “ in our stuffs of Lyons; that if the pontiff were
 “ to give to the English that preference over us
 “ which they solicit, and which in a fit of re-
 “ sentment he might be induced to grant, we
 “ should lose more than we could gain by the
 “ suppression.”

These arguments might have appeared plausi-
 ble to a court which had reason to fear setting the
 example of reform: but they had no weight
 with an assembly whom the voice of the people
 imperiously commanded to undertake the work
 of reformation; and the payment of the an-
 nats was one of the first abuses removed by the
 states-general.

At the news of this event, a deep and uni-
 versal consternation prevailed in the capital of
 the catholic world. Bernis himself, the cool,
 the moderate, the philosophic Bernis, could not
 without extreme difficulty submit to this first
 blow struck at his immense revenue. The sup-
 pression of the annats alone deprived him of

* About sixteen thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds
 sterling.

between twenty and thirty thousand livres per annum. That of the tithes soon followed, and proved yet more fatal to him. The chief part of his income from the archbishopric of Alby, from his priory of La Charité-sur-Loire, and of his two other abbeys, was in tithes. He bitterly complained of a treatment "so unforeseen and "so unmerited," as he asserted. "He certainly "enjoyed a brilliant fortune: but all Europe "knew in what manner he had employed it "during the last twenty years. Already standing on the brink of the grave, would he in "future have sufficient for his own support, "after having given bread to such numbers?"

His first step was to reform his household.

But these complaints of a single individual, however estimable he might be in other respects, were drowned and lost amid the loud cries uttered by the Roman court and its dependents. "Behold," said they on every side, "the *cordatum* violated, the clerks and secretaries "ruined, the pope much worse treated by France "than he has been by Joseph II.!" Pius undoubtedly participated those painful feelings: but he had for some time sufficient self-command to refrain from giving them vent. He was on the point of writing to the king a suppliant letter: but it was not the king who aimed the strokes that were inflicted on him. Bernis re-

commended to him resignation, which himself found so difficult of practice in his own case.

The pope contented himself with ordering public prayers for the relief of the necessities of the church. He might be pardoned for employing that consolation: but that was not the only balm of which his wounded bosom stood in need. At his invitation Bernis waited on him; he found him in affliction, but without weakness, full of respectful confidence in the assistance of heaven and the religious disposition of the king of France. The *zelanti*, who had less faith in those resources, thought he had others still remaining of a more efficacious nature. They advised him to pen a brief in which devotion and theologic erudition should lend each other mutual aid, and in which he should speak a language suitable for the head of the church. He resisted their suggestions, and contented himself with writing to Louis a suppliant and paternal letter, persuaded that the national assembly, already so formidable, would not in this instance take his conduct amiss. The success of his letter was such as he might have expected: very fortunately for him, it produced no effect whatever.

Although measures of energy followed each other in rapid succession, still however the national assembly showed some remnant of defe-

rence for the head of the church: they wished him to explain his sentiments respecting the reforms which had been made in it. The pontiff desired a second conference with the cardinal de Bernis. "I will," said he to him, "consent to the suppression of the annats, so far as personally concerns myself: but I cannot give a categorical answer without the concurrence of the other parties interested, especially the cardinals, whose *propine* are founded on the revenue of the annats." He consulted the three cardinals who were chiefs of the ecclesiastic orders—Albani, of that of the bishops—Borromeo, of the priests—Altieri, of the curates. These cardinals, evidently perceiving that all resistance would be ineffectual, consented to the suppression of the annats, "but without noise," added they, "without derogation from existing treaties." It is not very easy to discover what salvo they hoped to establish by that clause. Bernis however exulted in this trifling success: but it was the last: he had now nought further to expect than misfortunes for the Sacred College and himself. He attempted to make intercession in favour of those secretaries and clerks of the chancellery and *datario's* office who had purchased their employments, and who were necessary to us so long as there should exist any relations between France and the Holy See.

But the most painful wound had not yet been inflicted. It was given on the second of November 1789, when a decree of the national assembly pronounced all the possessions of the clergy to be national property. This decree excited the indignation of the Sacred College : on Pius its only effect was consternation ; and he said to those about his person, “ I foresee great “ misfortunes : but I will persist in my silence.” His small remaining stock of moderation was gradually exhausted by these trials. His secretary of state, Zelada, successor to Buoncompagni, was a man of keen subtle character : his manner was mild and affable ; and he would have filled his post with propriety in ordinary circumstances : but, at such a tempestuous season as this, his want of energy and genuine dexterity rendered him very inadequate to the task. The influence of his moderation, however, concurred in preventing the imprudent steps which the pontiff might have taken in the year 1789, and from which he forbore. They both said, and their conduct proved their words to be in unison with their thoughts, that “ by “ breaking silence in these times of agitation “ and trouble, they would only increase the “ evil.”—Soon, nevertheless, shall we see the pope breaking his silence, and augmenting the mischief which he hoped to prevent.

It is true, the strokes leveled at his antiquated immunities were daily increasing. Before the conclusion of that year which had already been so fatal to him, the king was invited by a decree to forbear nominating to any benefice until the general plan relative to the clergy should be presented. This was the completion of the cardinal de Bernis' sorrows; and he was heard mournfully to say on this occasion, "Lo! the cardinal-protector of France is left without functions and without emotions!" He had never injured any person: he was old and infirm; and it would have been cruel not to pity him: but it is in the very nature of great measures such as those by which he suffered, to strike at random and without respect of persons.

Hitherto, however, the attacks had been wholly confined to the pope's spiritual authority: but the moment was now come when a part of what he called his *patrimony* was to be invaded. Bouche, one of the deputies from Provence, was the first to express a wish for the re-union of the Comtat of Avignon to the French monarchy.

That petty tract of country had been a source of frequent disputes between the kings of France and the popes. The legitimacy of its acquisition by the Holy See had remained problematical

among historians, but incontestable among the canonists. This question, which the French government consented to leave undecided while on good terms with the pontiff, was decided by overt act whenever it had any cause of complaint against him. Thus, twice in a single century—the first time under Louis XIV., the other under his successor—the Comtat had been seized by France, in whose hand this was an effectual mean of chastising those popes with whom she was dissatisfied. At the epoch of Clement XIV.'s elevation to the papacy she had been in possession of it since the time when Clement XIII. had incurred her displeasure by his ridiculously fanatic conduct toward the duke of Parma. The long-expected bull, which suppressed the order of the Jesuits, was, in 1774, the signal of reconciliation, and was soon followed by the restitution of the Comtat.

From that period, however, the possession of it was no longer so peaceably enjoyed by the Holy See as it had been in times past. The pontiff experienced some contrarieties from the tax-farmers, who wished to extend to it the sale of salt : his right to certain tolls was contested : in abolishing the order of the Celestines in France, we maintained that the suppression ought also to include the city of Avignon ; and, as a preli-

minary step to that effect, we began by seizing the property which those monks possessed in our territory.

These petty disputes were affairs of considerable magnitude for the Holy See, and particularly for its vice-legate. They prepared the public mind for a revolution. People began to view with impatient eye a small state inclosed within the bounds of a great kingdom, and, by its position, often serving as the haunt of robbers and affording shelter to smugglers: they examined more attentively by what title a foreign priest possessed a property in the interior of France; and doubts were raised concerning its legitimacy.

The inhabitants of Avignon and of the Comtat were even at this time divided into two parties. The one—which, it must be owned, was the more numerous—bore, without murmuring, a yoke which the popes had almost always rendered light. They saw themselves on the same footing with the natives of France. In every advantageous point of view; and, as subjects of the pope, they enjoyed some privileges which the French did not participate. They were not overburdened with taxes: and in the feebleness of the Roman government they saw nought but mildness. The others, on the contrary, felt their indignation raised by the idea of

being enslaved to a pontiff, and regretted that they were not completely members of a nation which, even under the monarchy, acted a conspicuous part. These latter had for their adherents all the men of energetic minds, all those whose philosophic penetration could form a just idea of priestly usurpation and tyranny, all those whose turbulent spirit delighted in innovation.

Such were the dispositions of people's minds in the Comtat when the first shouts of liberty were heard in France. The identity of manners and language, vicinity, and the multiplicity of existing relations, produced such effect as must naturally have been expected; and the inhabitants were soon in unison with the rest of the French. In August 1789 they already had their national guards: soon after, a deputation from Avignon petitioned for the re-union of their city with France. They did not yet speak the general wish of their concitizens; but it was now easy to foresee the fate of the Comtat.

As soon as intelligence was received there of the motion made by Bouche, the administration appointed by the pope declared their resolution of continuing faithful to his holiness.

Meanwhile, however, the people assembled, and, without yet shaking off the papal yoke framed for themselves a new constitution. There, as elsewhere, the public voice was imperious:

the vice-legate, to retain at least a shadow of authority, wished that this incipient revolution should appear to be his work, and gave his sanction to the new constitution. But the court of Rome, who thought themselves at a distance from the danger, were less accommodating: in April 1790, a bull arrived at Avignon which annulled all the ordinances extorted from the vice-legate, and prohibited the papal commissioners to publish them. From that period, Avignon became a theatre of dissensions that drenched with blood the beautiful district of which that city is the capital. The details of those transactions belong to the history of the French revolution; and we will here notice such particulars only as have a direct relation to the pontificate of Pius VI.

His bull had brought to Avignon the seeds of discord. The vice-legate, no longer thinking himself safe there, retired to Carpentras, where he protested against all that had been done.

Meanwhile the French party saw the number of their partisans rapidly increasing; and on the twenty-sixth of October the nine districts of the Comtat unanimously expressed their wish to be incorporated with the department of the Mouths of Rhone. Soon after this, the opposite party gained a temporary ascendancy. The court of Rome proceeded no farther than intriguing in

the Comtat, and had avoided all explanation of its sentiments respecting those innovations which appeared to be desired by the majority of the inhabitants. Its partisans, affecting to act as the organs of the entire district, sent to the pope a deputation announcing to him that it was the unanimous and earnest wish of the people to adopt the French constitution, and conjuring him no longer to persevere in a silence of which the continuation might produce a rupture of the social compact: "but," added the deputies, "if his holiness accept the decrees of the French constituent assembly relative to the civil organisation of the clergy, the Comtat will remain inviolably attached to him, and will immediately declare any usurpation of its territory to be *high treason against society*."

Pius was too much infatuated with the immunities of the Holy See, and too ill advised, to adopt such a *mezzo termine*. A hatred of French principles was become one of the dogmata of the Sacred College. The equivocal conduct of the pontiff and of his vice-legatc weakened the party who were opposed to the union. On revolutionary ground one first bold step is soon followed by another, especially when the hand of power is at such a distance as to leave a confident hope of impunity. The assembly of the Comtat declared that they ceased to consider the

vice-legate as the pope's representative, and prohibited all future applications to him under the penalties of prevarication. They did not however decree an absolute disjunction from the papacy, but named three *conservators*, who swore allegiance to "the nation, the law, and the "Holy See."

Avignon, now become the centre of insurrection, outstripped the rest of the Comtat in the revolutionary career. On the seventh of February 1791 it celebrated the festival of the federation. The archbishop and his clergy refusing to take the civic oath, the *commune* declared the archbishop to have forfeited his dignity, and deprived the canons of their prebends. At length, toward the middle of March, the Avignonese abrogated the pope's temporal sovereignty over them, and seized his revenues. Carpentras still continued refractory, and determined to persevere in its former allegiance to him.

But the hour was now approaching when the fate of the Comtat was to be definitively determined. The national assembly made it the subject of their deliberations in the month of April. Bouche proved that there was a plurality of fourteen thousand votes in favour of the union: Menou, by a diplomatic discussion, proved the lawfulness of the measure; and it was voted in

spite of all the oratory and erudition displayed by Maury. But it was not carried into effect without the most violent disturbances, excited by the intrigues of the court of Rome, and which, during all the remainder of the year 1791, rendered the unfortunate Comtat a theatre of horrors,

It may naturally be supposed that the re-union of the Comtat with France was represented at Rome in the most odious colours. But the Roman court had not waited for this provocation before they gave the most decisive proofs of their ill-will to the French. Pius's moderation had cost him too violent an exertion of self-command to be of long continuance. The fear of a revolution served him at first as a pretext for persecuting the individuals of our nation. Whoever was known to be a native of France and not to profess principles contrary to those which she had adopted, was branded as a *patriot*—a name which, in the vocabulary of the Roman government, designated a man worthy of being imprisoned, banished, or at least strictly watched. That government successively passed from boldness to terror, from despotic measures to religious mummeries. In August 1791, it was alarmed by a pretended conspiracy said to be plotted by the unfortunate prisoners whom it had confined

in the castle of Saint-Angelo. It released them, and ordered them to be conducted out of the territory of the Ecclesiastical State.

Cagliostro's affair was connected with these suspicions and persecutions. After the shameful trial on the subject of the necklace, that famous impostor, having quitted France, and peragrated England, Holland, Switzerland, had ranged through Italy, had spent some time at Naples, and thence returned to Rome, where he had married Lorenzia Feliciani, who, under the name of Serafina, has been seen in France participating his intrigues, his adventures, and his misfortunes. It appears that she was the immediate cause of his arrest. Cagliostro gave her very harsh treatment: she contrived to escape from his tyranny; and as her husband, who was an enemy to every other worship except that of the fantastic beings which he caused to be adored by fools, had prevented her from professing her religion, the first use she made of her liberty was to go to confession. She disclosed to her ghostly director all the dangerous schemes of which she was the involuntary confidante and accomplice, and prayed him to denounce them to the government. It was in consequence of this denunciation that Cagliostro had been arrested on the twenty-eighth of December 1789,

and immured in the dungeons of the inquisition. In searching his house, little money was found ; but there were jewels and rich clothes, and, among others, some Turkish dresses.

Hitherto nothing had appeared which could afford reason for treating him with rigor : but ere long, in different houses at Rome which he had hired, written proofs were discovered of a conspiracy that he had formed against the city, against the Ecclesiastical State, and against the pope himself. The tedious examination of his cause produced suspicions that he was a partisan of the " French principles." The proceedings were long and secret, and gave rise to a variety of conjectures. At length, on the sixteenth of April 1791, he received his sentence, by which he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. His wife, who, as the reward of her information, had been arrested at the same time with him, was shut up in a convent. For a while thoughts were entertained of putting him to death : but, for that purpose, it would have been necessary to have his trial prosecuted to judgment by the Holy Office, and to condemn him for the crime of *forcery*. This would have been adding ridicule to horror : and the court of Rome was afraid to put this additional weapon into the hand of philosophy, which already

combated with so great advantage. He was transferred to the castle of Santo-Leone in the duchy of Urbino,

The world remained some time ignorant of the real crimes for which he was punished. His trial, however, was afterward published by piece-meal; the pope allowing this deviation from the general rule which required that such proceedings should remain buried in the most profound secrecy. The publication of his trial informed the curious inquirer that the *great crimes* of Cagliostro were his being or at least pretending to be initiated in the mysteries of Egyptian free-masonry, and in those of the sect of the illuminati. To the eyes of that ignorant and fanatic court of Rome, this appeared sufficient to prove him closely connected with those principles which were at once dreaded by despotic authority and by orthodoxy.

But, in spite of all the efforts of the Holy See, they were making rapid progress: they even spread beyond the limits of France. In the beginning of the year 1791 there appeared at Venice a philosophic treatise on the interdict, in which the language of the gospel was thus parodied—"Verily, verily, I say unto you, the empire of reason is at hand; and the thunders of the Vatican shall not prevail against it."

CHAPTER XXVI.

Injuries received by France from the Court of Rome.

PIUS, however, still persisted in the neutrality which he had professed since the commencement of our troubles. Such conduct was not pleasing to the majority of the members of the Sacred College: they recommended to the holy father what they called *firmness*: they hoped thus to produce a schism in France, and to save there at least a part of the immunities of the church. A schism held out the prospect of “faithful servants opposed to rebellious sons:” “and was it not better to divide the family than suffer it to be entirely lost? It was, after all, “only ordering the amputation of some rotten “branches, for the sake of saving the trunk.” The *godly* Romans relied at the same time on success in another way, and employed the arts of intrigue in France to procure it. They hoped that the king would set to the orthodox party an imposing example by refusing to receive the sacrament from the *sacrilegious* hands of an *infamous wretch* who had taken the oath (such were their charitable expressions). But Louis was not yet entirely led astray by his coun-

fellows, and refused to the Sacred College the gratification of that triumph.

Soon after, a new subject arose which gave additional pain to the Roman court. One of those *infamous wretches* who had taken the oath—Gobel, the new bishop of Paris,—issued a mandate, in which, to calm (as he said) the consciences of his flock, he enumerated a list of holy bishops who had all been elected by the people. The pope was now sensibly alarmed, and mournfully said—"I foresee it! France will 'escape from me!'" To prevent that misfortune, he formed the resolution of punishing those refractory prelates who had set the example of revolt from the Holy See. Toward the end of April, a brief was received at Paris, signed with the name of Pius, followed by the signature of the abbé Royou, in which the former bishop of Autun was suspended from his functions, and declared excommunicate at the expiration of forty days, unless he returned to a sense of his duty. It has been asserted that an *auto-da-fe* was celebrated at Rome, at which his effigy made a conspicuous figure, clad in a *fam benito*: but this was a tale invented by some wag who wished to furnish a counterpart to what really happened at Paris, where the pope's effigy, decorated with all his pontifical robes, had been burned by the multitude in the intoxication of

a fanaticism very different from that which had actuated their ancestors.

The attention of the court of Rome was engaged by more serious trifles. Although the civil constitution of the clergy now seemed to be nearly forgotten, the Holy See was zealously employed in endeavouring to cure that wound inflicted on the Roman church.

In the month of May was appointed a new congregation of thirteen cardinals and five prelates, who exerted their talents in composing a consolatory letter to the bishops, rectors, curates, who had had the *godly* courage to refuse taking the constitutional oath.

In the midst of these transactions, the post from Turin brought intelligence of Louis's flight. This was a subject of exultation for the court of Rome: festive preparations were made to celebrate that great event: a crowd of Frenchmen set out from Rome to enrol themselves under the banners of their king now restored to liberty. Pius dispatched to the nuncio Pacca, who resided at Brussels, a letter most pathetically affectionate, in which he congratulated Louis on his deliverance, recommended him to the protection of heaven, wished him "a speedy, peaceable, and triumphant return to his kingdom." The Roman populace hurried in a fit of enthusiasm to the palace inhabited by the French

King's aunts, and rent the air with repeated shouts of "*Viva il re di Francia!*"* The priests ran from street to street vociferating prayers for the king "delivered from the hands of his miscreant persecutors †." Even the cardinal de Bernis himself, forgetful of his age and character, indulged in the demonstrations of puerile joy.

This delirium, however, was soon succeeded by poignant regret and even by the sting of repentance. The Roman court were sensible that they had provoked a storm of vengeance from which they could not escape; yet, instead of taking any steps to appease the French nation whose triumph could now no longer be considered as problematic, they braved her resentment, laboured to excite a schism in her bosom, and proscribed all those who concurred in her revolution.

The archbishop of Sens, whom Pius had created a cardinal, was become one of the principal objects of his animosity. The pontiff had insisted that he should either revoke his acceptance of the civil constitution of the clergy or renounce his cardinalian dignity. Lomenie had

* Long live the king of France!

† The Italian expression, *manigoldi*, literally signifies *hangmen*—*vile scoundrels*.

answered this injunction with a courage which was not congenial to him, but which the circumstances demanded—"Your holiness leaves me no alternative but that of becoming a traitor to my country, or resigning the hat. I cannot possibly hesitate, and I send it back to your holiness." But a voluntary resignation was not, in the eyes of the Sacred College, a punishment; and punishment was what their refractory colleague had merited. The pope therefore thought it his duty to hold a secret confistory toward the end of September 1791, and to erase the name of Lomenie from the list of cardinals. In the discourse which he pronounced on this occasion, he inveighed with great virulence against the French principles.

Thus the Roman government attracted the thunder-clouds which were to burst over their own heads; and their terror increased in the same proportion with their aversion to France, which was embittered to the highest degree, when the incorporation of the Comtat was at length voted on the eighth of October. From that moment they no longer observed any bounds either in the expressions of their hatred, or in their vexatory measures, for which the care of their own safety served as a pretext. They caused gibbets to be erected during the night at the doors of several houses, particularly

that of the president of the *annona*, who was threatened by the murmurs of the populace: they exercised the most oppressive vigilance with respect to foreigners; they ordered every inn-keeper to give in a list of all the persons who lodged with him: they commanded the governors of the frontier towns to admit none who could not produce an express written order from the Holy See. They now dreamed of nothing but insurrections; and in some places, as at Orvieto and Cività-Vecchia, those dreams were on the eve of being realised. The tremendous cry of "*Viva la libertà **!" was there heard to resound; and a band of *sbirri* were sent to disperse the factious multitude. A certain Octavio Capelli was accused of infidelity: the Holy Office, which in ordinary times displayed much greater moderation at Rome than in any other catholic country, thought that the circumstances of the present period made severity its duty, even at the risk of incurring odium and ridicule: accordingly Capelli, as "*a visionary, an impostor, a free-mason, a man suspected of heresy,*" was condemned to seven years' imprisonment. Soon after, a Ragusan monk, who was held in respect at Rome and even connected with the dean of the Sacred College, was suddenly arrested by that formidable

* Liberty for ever!

tribunal : his crimes were those of being a *free-mason* and initiated in the same mysteries as *Cagliostro*.

During this and the following year the court of Rome accumulated the proofs of its terror, and of its enmity to the French revolution. The aunts of Louis XVI. had repaired to Rome in quest of an asylum from the persecutions to which their family and their religion stood exposed. They were received there less even as princesses than as victims. The cardinal de Bernis accommodated them in his hotel, and, by his respectful attentions, laboured to console them for the loss of that unbounded homage which they no longer received at the court of their nephew. The pope directed the princess della Santa-Croce every-where to accompany them.

They were soon followed by that courageous but impotent champion of the Roman prerogatives, the abbé Maury, who came to seek at Rome the reward of his exertions, an indemnification for his *glorious defeat*. Pius could not have treated him better in consequence of a victory : he made him the offer of an apartment in the Vatican ; but the modest abbé contented himself with a lodging in the house of the cardinal secretary of state.

Scarcely arrived at Rome, he was nominated

archbishop of Thebes: he was destined for an important mission, and allowed a salary of sixty thousand Roman crowns. He bespoke rich liveries, and prepared to prove himself, by the display of great luxury, the worthy representative of "*the servant of the servants of God**." On the first of May his mission was declared: he was to repair as nuncio to the diet of Frankfort. He was consecrated archbishop of Nicæa in Saint Peter's cathedral, in presence of Louis's aunts, by the cardinal Zelada, assisted by two refractory and fugitive French bishops—those of Vence and Perpignan. The choice of such a nuncio excited the astonishment and indignation of all those haughty Roman prelates who saw themselves postponed to a foreign priest distinguished only by some useless talents. But the pope has so ordained: Maury is to set out for Frankfort: he will most assuredly obtain the restitution of the Comtat; for he himself has promised that he will.

It was at this epoch that the war had just blazed forth between France and the confederate potentates. Pius, not content with giving them the aid of his orisons, seemed also to make preparations for entering the lists with them. He re-

* *Servus servorum Dei*, a title assumed by the proud humility of the popes.

viewed his troops, equally formidable by their numbers as by their valour. Let us attend him in his review.

The sovereign pontiff had at this time a company of a hundred Switzers, and one of halberdiers—two companies, the one of light horse, the other of cuirassiers, each consisting of two hundred men indifferently mounted—the city guard, forming a regiment of two hundred, known by the appellation of the Red-coats—the garrison of the castle of Saint-Angelo, amounting to about a hundred—a battalion of Corsicans—the garrisons of Civit -Vecchia and Ancona, comprising about three thousand—Total of the totals, five thousand men.

It was on the strength of this army that the court of Rome began their warlike preparations, and conceived the project of forming a military line which should extend from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean. Accordingly they gave orders for the march of troops and the transportation of artillery—augmented the garrison in the castle of Saint-Angelo—sent their treasurer to Civit -Vecchia to expedite the intended armaments—directed that town to be put into a state capable of sustaining a siege—and even named a generalissimo: but where was a fit man to be found in the Ecclesiastical State? They were obliged to borrow one from

some of the powers at war with the common enemy. The choice first fell upon Capranica, who had been for some time in the service of the king of Sardinia—afterward upon baron Marwitz, a Prussian officer: nor was he the last.

Measures of policy are called in to the aid of those military preparatives. A secret congregation is held at the house of cardinal Gerdyl. The critical aspect of the times calls for some grand expedient: what decisive determination will their wisdom adopt?—That of proposing a jubilee to avert the disasters which impend over the church of Rome!

Hostilities of this kind might well have been passed over in silent disdain. The French government, however, thought proper to notice them. In the month of July, when giving to the nation an account of the dispositions of the different European powers, it announced to them that the court of Rome was also become the irreconcilable enemy of France—that it had most loudly protested against the seizure of Avignon—that, to support its claims, it had made application to all the powers, even to Russia—that it refused to admit any diplomatic agent of the republic, under what title soever—that France might already consider herself as come to an open rupture with the papacy.

But the Holy See thought, no doubt, that it

might, under shelter of its own feebleness, brave with impunity a power which already showed itself formidable. The insolent manifesto of the duke of Brunswick makes its appearance: it is received at Rome with enthusiastic transport: it is translated into Italian, and profusely distributed: it is considered as the signal for the annihilation of the *impious race* of Frenchmen; and persecution is exercised with increased virulence against the individuals of their nation. The French government however overlooks these new outrages with high-minded disdain. Its attention is occupied by more momentous interests: it has just assumed the republican form, and is on the eve of becoming still more formidable.

About this period appeared in public a letter addressed by an anonymous writer to Pius VI. In it the pontiff was treated with extreme severity: it contained an acrimonious enumeration of his defects and his faults, and retraced the principal features of his reign. From the following passage a judgement may be formed of the style of that letter, which is rather a monument of eloquent indignation than a historic document.—“ You concur, by your contributions, “ in the crusade of the enemies of France. The “ draining of the Pontine marshes, which might “ have crowned you with glory, covers you with

“disgrace, because it is nothing better than an
 “absolute robbery, since you have usurped that
 “vast tract, and converted it into a principality
 “for your nephew, to whom you have, *per fas*
 “*et nefas**, given an establishment equal to the
 “opulence of some sovereigns. Had you not
 “already incurred excessive guilt in ruining
 “your people, as well by the enormous sums so
 “ill expended in the insipid construction of a
 “*sacristy* which will never be any thing better
 “than a monument of your foolish vanity and
 “want of taste—as by the frequent emission of
 “paper-money by which you have tripled the
 “debts of the state?”—In another place the
 anonymous author reproaches him with having
 taken for his model those fanatic popes who had
 elevated their throne on the basis of stupid folly
 and ignorance, instead of the prudent Benedict
 XIV., who, above all things, avoided theologic
 disputes. He adds—“For you, holy father!
 “was reserved the task of overturning that
 “throne of folly to which the *most shameful vices*
 “have raised you, and on which you have only
 “displayed vanity, ignorance, presumption, and
 “the most greedy nepotism. How impru-
 “dent in you, holy father! to set yourself up as

* By right and by wrong—without regard to the distinc-
 tion between right and wrong.

“ the defender of religion and morality, when
 “ all the actions of your private and public life
 “ are so many proofs of your atheism and im-
 “ morality !” &c.—The writer concluded by re-
 commending to him to abdicate the throne, and
 dictating to him the language in which he ought
 to address the catholic world in disavowing *all*
the follies to which he had lent the sanction of his
 authority.

This violent philippic did not produce at
 Rome the effect which had been expected from
 it. The eye of malevolence even discovered in it
 the marks of exaggeration : its author was view-
 ed in no other light than as one of those elo-
 quent infidels who had sworn to overturn the
 throne and the altar : it supplied with new argu-
 ments the enemies of the French revolution, and
 furnished an additional proof that men often
 miss their aim by overshooting the mark.

Within a short time after, the executive coun-
 cil came much nearer to it by speaking to the
 pontiff in vigorous language which was not in-
 consistent either with French urbanity or with
 truth. In the beginning of December he re-
 ceived from them a letter superscribed, “ The
 “ executive council of the French republic, to
 “ the prince bishop of Rome.” They very ener-
 getically demanded of him the enlargement of
 several Frenchmen who were arbitrarily confined

at Rome. "Pontiff of the Roman church!" said they—"hitherto ruler of a sceptre which is ready to escape from your grasp! know the maxims of the French republic. Too just to have any thing to conceal even in diplomacy —too powerful to employ menaces—but too high-minded to overlook an outrage—she is ready to avenge it if peaceable reclamations should prove ineffectual."

But his holiness had in some respects anticipated those reclamations: even before they reached him, he had caused several French artists to be set at liberty, of whose number were Chinard an able sculptor, and Ratel. On the thirteenth of November they had been released, having recovered all their effects, even to their national cockades. But we had still several causes of complaint against the court of Rome. Some subaltern officers, natives of France, who were in the Roman service, were shaven, degraded, sent to the galleys, for having spoken favourably of their country. The cardinal of York, bishop of Frascati, had prohibited the innkeepers of his diocese to receive any Frenchman into their houses. The pulpit, the confessional, every thing, was employed to exasperate the people against us. Blinded by fear and rage, despotism, as frequently is the case, exhibited itself at once in a ridiculous and an atro-

cious light. The pope called to Rome a body of militia to supply the place of the ordinary guard. Those militia-men, still more grotesque in their appearance than his holiness's regular troops, became a subject of laughter to the citizens: whereupon the Holy See issued strict orders that people should consider them as real soldiers, under pain of corporal punishment. Some wags, however, having, in contempt of that injunction, made themselves merry at the expense of the Roman militia-men, atoned for their forbidden merriment under the strokes of the rod.

The recruiting service meanwhile was prosecuted with activity; and, toward the end of December, the pontiff publicly announced, that, although he had no reason to apprehend any hostilities and intended to preserve a perfect neutrality, he felt it nevertheless his duty to provide for the security of his coasts, and to raise troops in his different provinces for the safeguard of his capital.

He did not lose sight of the necessity of providing a chief for that army which was assembling at his command. Several had already been proposed. The choice seemed for some time to be fixed on an Austrian general, by name Caprara, who, after having viewed those heroes whom he was to conduct in the path of glory,

declared in plain terms, that, "at the first musket-shot, they would all run away, and leave him *tête-à-tête* with the enemy."

Such was the state of affairs, and such the temper of the public mind, when an incident, rather extraordinary than unforeseen, intervened to precipitate a catastrophe which every circumstance tended to accelerate.

For some time antecedent, the French residing in Rome had been able to discover from several indications that there existed an intention of involving them all in a general proscription; and the mildest reproach that can be brought against the Roman government, is, that it did not redouble its diligence to defeat that horrible conspiracy. At that period we had not at Rome any acknowledged agent: but our minister at Naples had sent thither one of his secretaries of legation, Basseville, to plead the cause of his oppressed compatriots. Basseville had obtained from the secretary of state an answer calculated to remove all uneasiness; and the pontiff himself had increased their unsuspecting security by some of those phrases which appear the spontaneous effusions of candor. The French were preparing to attend one of their meetings when they learned the disaster that had happened to our admiral's vessel after the expedition to Naples; and they made a collection among themselves

to contribute to the reparation of the damages. Such was the object of their first two meetings in the palace of the academy. They were to meet a third time to deliberate on the means of substituting, in lieu of the ancient armorial insignia which decorated that palace, the arms of the republic. But the populace, misinformed respecting the object of the intended meeting, furiously crowded to the academy, where they arrived before the artists. Basseville, and Flotte a major belonging to the fleet off Naples, were the first who had exhibited the tricolor cockade : on that very day they had worn it at a visit which they paid to the secretary of state, who said to them, " The cockade is no longer a " badge which the French are prohibited to " wear in Rome."

During the interval preceding the hour of the appointed meeting, these two Frenchmen were taking an airing in a coach. Basseville had with him his wife and child. Their carriage slowly moved along the *Corso*, one of the broadest and most frequented streets of Rome. The Roman government has asserted that the affected display of the tricolor cockade had irritated the populace. It was rather the government itself that had excited them to acts of violence, by so many preceding measures strongly stamped with the characters of hatred to all who were attached to

France. Be that, however, as it may, the French in the coach were suddenly assailed with hootings, stones, and musket-shots. Basseville orders his coachman to drive home, springs from the carriage, opposes the efforts made by major Flotte to defend him, when suddenly he feels himself pierced with a bayonet. The soldiery, unrestrained by any control, drag him expiring to the adjacent guard-house, and seem to have given the signal for a general massacre. A crowd of wretches ravening for carnage run about the streets, vociferating "Long live the pope! The holy faith for ever! Saint Bartle-my for ever *! Death to all the French!"

Meantime the pupil-pensioners of the academy ran terrified through the halls, and saw themselves in danger of being murdered amid the master-productions of the arts.

Several facts deeply inculcate the Roman government. Some statements, which are at least of questionable authority, tend to exculpate it, by throwing the provocation on the side of the French. If we were disposed to anticipate the decision of history, to which alone it belongs to pronounce between these contradictory assertions at a period when the passions shall be lulled

* The massacre of the protestants in France on Saint Bartholomew's day, A. D. 1572, will naturally recur to the mind of the reader.

to silence, we would say that Rome—at this time crowded with mal-contents of various descriptions, but all unanimous in detesting the French revolution, all faithfully perseverant in that detestation which they considered as a duty—must have contained, if not numerous accomplices, at least numerous confidants, of that horrible conspiracy to which the unfortunate Basserville fell a victim; that the government could not be ignorant of it; that, as it did not prevent its execution, it may fairly be accused of having at least connived at it; and that this suspicion derives confirmation from the style of the edict issued three days after by the pope: for, instead of making a disavowal in the most decisive language and in that hypocritically mournful tone which Italian duplicity must have found it easy to assume, he contented himself with saying, through the organ of his secretary of state Zelada, that he “sensibly felt the testimonies which
 “the people of Rome had given him, on the
 “preceding days, of their attachment to religion
 “and their affection for his holiness’s person;
 “but that the holy father was *afflicted* to see
 “that the same people, amid the emotions to
 “which they had yielded in expressing their
 “sentiments, had suffered themselves to be hurried on to *some excesses which had disturbed the*
 “*public tranquillity*—excesses unbecoming a na-

“tion who ought to pride themselves on having
 “been nurtured with good precepts, and trained
 “up in the principles of a morality whose every
 “maxim recommends peace, gentleness, and
 “charity toward our neighbour.”—In another
 part, his holiness commands his subjects “to
 “keep themselves in future in *a more calm state*
 “—to refrain from all kind of tumult or assem-
 “blage—to do *no damage to any hotel or any shop*
 “—and not to *insult* any person, of whatsoever
 “origin or country, or any property belonging
 “to him,” &c.

And it was in this soft and tenderly indulgent language that the court of Rome expressed their disapprobation of a horrible crime committed against a French agent who had been received, by their principal minister a few hours before! Was it thus that they hoped to disarm the resentment of the formidable republic which at that time made successful opposition to a great part of Europe, and already threatened the most firmly established thrones?

If any thing could appear more astonishing than the phlegmatic unconcern of the court of Rome on such an occasion, it was the patience of the French government which condescended to rest satisfied with such a cold disavowal, and whose anger was appeased by some slight marks of repentance.

But the indignation which must have fired the bosom of every Frenchman—of every impartial observer, if there were any such at the time—is at least energetically expressed in an anonymous letter addressed from Florence to the cardinal Zelada, and dated January 25. By it we are informed that “his eminence Zelada, a
 “man of such reputed mildness and conciliating disposition, was, at this critical moment
 “when the lives of all the French seemed to be
 “in danger, seated by the pope’s side, calmly
 “entertaining him with the successive details of
 “the shocking scene which the populace were
 “acting in the streets of Rome. Ah! cardinal
 “Zelada, what is become of that reputation for
 “prudence, ability, and humanity, of which you
 “had been twenty years in possession, and which
 “caused you to be beloved by the ministers of
 “France and Spain, courted by all foreigners,
 “and held in estimation through all Europe?
 “What! you compel us then to consider that
 “brilliant reputation as one of the usurpations
 “of the court of Rome, and to view you no
 “longer as that able minister whom the world
 “was pleased to think you, but as a detected
 “hypocrite whose conduct inspires almost as
 “much contempt as aversion?”

To account, however, for that cool apathy of the Roman government after an event that might

have caused its instant overthrow, it is only necessary to recollect that our government, though plumed with glorious successes, might still appear to stand on dubious ground ; that the Holy See had as a rampart, to shelter it from our resentment, a great part of Italy—of that country which was still thought inaccessible to our arms; and especially that it was surrounded by perfidious counsellors, who, making heaven a party in the defence of their purely mundane interests, talked of nothing but *celestial vengeance*, from which it was impossible for the *impious, sacrilegious, regicide* nation to escape.

The pontiff, however, did not place such blind reliance on these great motives of security as not to adopt other precautions. He consigned to oblivion his grounds of complaint against the court of Naples, and, in concert with it, planned measures of defence. He visited his arsenals and his pawn-bank *, to appreciate the assistance which he might expect from those two grand finews of war, steel and gold. Alas! they were both very feeble: no cannons in the arsenals, little gold in the coffers! But his principal resource was the fanaticism of the Roman populace; and he spared no pains to render it sub-

* *Monte-di-pietà*—pawn broker's office, only on a more extensive scale than ours, and with this further difference, that the government, i. e. his holiness, was the head pawn-broker. See Chap. XXXI. toward the end of this volume.

fervient to his views. At this time he carried on intrigues in all the courts of Italy, and, setting aside the scruples of intolerance, was in concert with that of Saint-James's against the *common enemy of the peace of Europe*. Those two courts of Rome and London seemed to have divided heaven and earth between them; the one reserving to itself the religious resources, the other the political.

Pius filled to the best of his power his double character of temporal prince and pontiff; and, foreseeing that the vengeance of France could be at most only procrastinated, he called forth, by energetic proclamations, all his means of defence. "At the sound of the bell," said he in one of them, "which shall announce an invasion, let all the men run to arms; let them send off to the interior of the country all the cattle and forage; let them set fire to whatever else remains; and let them *endeavour to destroy by every practicable mean a lawless and merciless enemy*."—Such were the expressions used by the father of the faithful, the vice-gerent of the God of mercy!

He contented himself however with exhorting and inviting, because he was convinced, he said, that all his subjects, equally good catholics as good citizens, would consider it as their duty to combat a horde of "*barbarians who had sworn*

" to overturn, wherever they went, the throne
 " and the altar."—He next promised indemnifications for losses, rewards for distinguished actions, and particularly a complete amnesty to criminals who should step forward *to expiate their crimes by fighting in defence of the state and of religion*. From this levy *en masse*, thus called forth in the name of heaven and earth, he excepted none but old men above the age of sixty years, children below that of sixteen, infirm persons, and ecclesiastics in general, whose function it was to " raise their hands on the mountain while
 " the faithful were combating in the plain."

This extraordinary proclamation would alone have been sufficient to justify the measures which were at length taken against the court of Rome, and even against the catholic church. How was it possible any longer to acknowledge, as the prevailing religion in a state, that religion of which the sovereign pontiff, with his sacred book in his hand, dares proclaim to the universe that it is necessary to destroy an enemy *by every practicable mean*—encourages to the commission of crimes by the facility of expiation, in absolving all criminals who shall step forth to " fight
 " in defence of the state and of religion"—and sanctions the slothful idleness of the priests by destining them to remain inactive spectators of those combats in which they impel their

flock to engage, and which are undertaken for their own defence? In the age of the crusades, in that of the league*, did fanaticism ever speak in language more absurd or more intolerant?

The emperor also was one of the principal supporters of Pius, who received from him counsels, eulogiums, encouragements, and who with godly tranquillity beheld the English and Spanish fleets protecting Italy from invasion. But the successes of the coalition were neither constant nor universal: the Piémontese army had suffered repeated checks; and it was still necessary to observe some delicacy of conduct toward France. Instead, therefore, of braving the republic, the pontiff, toward the end of June, ordered the restoration of a French tartane which had been captured by one of his *guardacostas*, and carried to Cività-Vecchia: for he was "not," he said, "at war with France." By what epithet shall we characterise that pontiff who dares to assert that he is "not at war with France," yet invites his subjects to destroy all the French "by every practicable mean," and labours in every court of Europe to excite enemies against them?

But a circumstance which more strongly ope-

* The catholic league, formed against the huguenots, in the reign of Henry III. of France.

rated than his salutary dread of France in rendering him still cautious, was the feebleness of his resources. Of this he every day gained fresh conviction. Toward the conclusion of the year 1793 the taxes were burdensome and ill paid: provisions were scarce and dear: the people vented loud murmurs on seeing them embarked and sent off to supply the fleets of the confederate powers. Two months after, necessity compelled the adoption of a measure which at any other time would have been deemed more than bold. The new treasurer, Laporta, who had succeeded the squanderer Ruffo, put in requisition the plate belonging to the churches, for the purpose of devoting it to the mintage of ten millions of small coin, intended to be employed in paying off the *cedole*.

Pius eagerly laid hold on every circumstance which afforded him an opportunity of displaying his zeal. In the first months of the year 1794, success seemed to smile on the Austrian arms. The emperor had conceived the idea of placing himself, at least during a while, at the head of his army. Such a glorious instance of self-devotion appeared to Pius deserving of encouragement and even of recompense: accordingly he sent to Francis II. a golden medal representing Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and inclosed in a relique-case. "Fight," said he to

him, in a letter which accompanied the present — “fight in the name of those two valiant soldiers of Christ.” This exhortation reached the emperor probably after his precipitate retreat: it was disapproved even at Rome: but the pope had contracted the habit of committing actions which alternately exposed him to ridicule and resentment; nor shall we see an end of such conduct until the hour of his downfall.

The remainder of the year 1794 was spent in devising means to procure a supply of specie, and means to fanaticise the multitude. The former proved a more difficult task than the latter. To carry on his military preparatives, an increased expenditure became necessary, and, consequently, an augmentation of taxes. The Roman people now, instead of rising against the French, were near rising against their own government; and, at the termination of the year 1794, attempted to set fire to the palace of the duke Braschi, whose riches excited indignation amid the general distress.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Embarrassments and Inconsistencies of the Court of Rome.

VARIOUS circumstances at this time concurred in irritating the minds of the Romans. During the three preceding years, the pope had thought proper to prohibit the diversions of the carnaval, in consideration of the calamities of the church. The lower orders alone suffered by this prohibition : the nobles alone diverted themselves ; the law being mute with respect to the latter. The impatient inhabitants of the *Trafevere* quarter and of the *Porta del Popolo*, shocked at that exclusive privilege, resolved to have their share also in the diversions of the season. On the Thursday before Lent (of the year 1795) they ran about the streets in masks. On the following Monday the patrols attempted by violence to repress those sallies of coarse but innocent gaiety : the consequence was an open insurrection, in which filettoes and knives were employed to second the volleys of stones. The Borgheze palace was besieged : but a few hand-

fuls of coin dispersed the besiegers. The duke Braschi was involved in similar danger: his wife, confined by sickness to her bed, was near losing her life in consequence of the fright. The Piombini and Chigi palaces were preserved by barricades.

Private individuals were the only sufferers by this commotion: they were pillaged: they were obliged to pay ransoms. The terror was general throughout Rome; and many foreigners fled from the city. The government remained a passive spectator of the storm in hope that it would prove no more than a transient gust. They did not discover in a few bands of plunderers the elements of a serious insurrection. The Romans at this time did not resemble those of their ancestors who, seceding to the Sacred Mount, compelled the senate to pay deference to their wishes--and much less those Frenchmen of the fourteenth of July who in a single day shook the foundations of their ancient government. On this occasion (and it was perhaps the only instance of his prudent management during ten years) the pope applied to the evil its true remedy. He did not consider this mutinous fit as indicative of a settled wish for liberty. But, when the danger was past, he adopted indeed a measure which might well have been thought ridiculous. Sufficient respect had not been paid

to his agents: he therefore thought proper to declare the papal soldiers *inviolable* as their master, and to announce that any insult offered to a *sbirro* would be deemed an act of *high treason*.

In the course of the year 1795, which was so favourable to our arms, the pope did every thing in his power to avoid coming to a rupture with us, and even took some steps, which, at the same time that they afforded glaring evidence of his terror, served well enough to conceal his aversion. In July he learned that a French brigantine, chased by two Neapolitan tartanes, had been driven ashore on the coast of the Ecclesiastical State, and that its hapless crew, escaped from shipwreck and captivity, were roaming in the woods near the sea-side, and in the utmost distress. His pontifical bowels yearned: he sent assistance to those unfortunates, caused their vessel to be repaired, and convoyed by an escort to a certain distance. On this occasion he declared that he was at war with nobody, that he was desirous of living in peace, and did not wish to injure any nation.

A singular circumstance was, that, even while he was causing public prayers to be offered up for the success of the imperial armies, and lavishing on them his plenary indulgences, he treated the subjects of Austria with greater severity than

he exercised against the French. During the year 1795 he detained in prison two chaplains of the court of Vienna, Monaco and Poli, on the charge of being attached to the opinions of the bishop of Pistoja. This, truly, was a fit moment to think of those puerile discussions, which at most were only worthy of the attention of the church in her hours of peaceful leisure !

The court of Rome had now precisely reached the period of its greatest internal embarrassments. Specie, provisions, confidence in the government, all was deficient at the same time. To palliate one disease which was already deemed incurable, they increased another of more dangerous complexion—the discontent of the people. A new emission of *cedole* was made, which were not exchangeable for cash in any sums above five crowns. The venders of provisions were obliged, at the close of each week, to carry to the bank *dello Spirito Santo* a part of the specie which they had received, and to accept *cedole* in exchange for it : most of the convents were invited to send their superfluous plate to the mint ; but all these resources proved yet insufficient ; and so urgent was the distress of the papal treasury toward the end of December, that the pope consented to sell a great number of his carriages, and forty of his finest horses. The sum of sixty thousand crowns which he raised by the

sale was quickly sent to the pawn-bank and the bank *dello Spirito Santo*, which were crowded with people importunately pressing for the exchange of their *cedole*.

The immediate cause of this increased distress lay in the military preparations which the court of Rome had the boldness to make for the purpose of repelling an attack which their own extraordinary conduct had provoked. In April 1796, at the moment when they seemed desirous of deprecating the storm which already began to growl over their heads, a body of Neapolitan cavalry presented themselves on the frontier, wishing to pass through the Ecclesiastical State on their way to the Milanese. What did his holiness now do to prove his neutrality? He appointed a commandant, who was directed to accompany the Neapolitans, and insure to them a supply of provisions.

This instance of partiality was not calculated to conciliate the good-will of a victorious general, who was already master of Lombardy, and who, stationed at Milan as the centre of his present and future conquests, threatened all Italy, and particularly the papal territory. The court of Rome had not imagined that his successes would be durable; and, according as they had appeared certain or doubtful, the pope had alternately behaved with suppleness or arrogance.

In the spring of 1796 he plainly perceived that his position was uncommonly critical: but to whom should he have recourse for its melioration? The cardinal de Bernis, formerly his counsellor and mediator, was himself no longer in that calm situation which might enable him to give prudent advice: he was besides, on more than one account, odious to that government whose anger was to be averted. The Spanish minister alone remained in such an attitude as could render his intervention useful: his court, after a transient war, was again on terms of amity with the French republic: his character, his knowledge, his long experience, the stately magnificence by which he was surrounded, the figure that Spain had constantly made among the catholic powers, had raised him to be the man of greatest consequence in all Rome. The Spanish palace and its extensive appurtenances constituted in that city a kind of independent state, whose chief saw under his protection and guidance a population of fourteen thousand souls, enjoyed his immunities which no hand would have dared to violate, and had his guards and even his gentlemen. The greatest personages, the cardinals, courted his favour: those who bore him no affection were nevertheless afraid to refuse him the outward marks of esteem and respect; and, where every other sentiment was

wanting, at least he commanded fear. Such was the man, whom—not every heart invited, but—every eye looked up to, when they saw the Ecclesiastical State threatened with invasion by the victorious Buonaparte.

The cardinal Zelada had not long been in office before he perceived his own impotence. He felt himself extremely inadequate to the task which Pius had thought he might venture to intrust to him. Destitute of activity, and possessing hardly any influence, he was no better than a mere ostensible tool in all those measures of which the French government had reason to complain. The court of Rome, justly alarmed by the progress of a revolution which attacked prejudices of every kind, thought it necessary to oppose a barrier to that torrent. The ordinary means were insufficient. Zelada, characteristically feeble, and whose faculties were still farther enfeebled by age, was ill qualified singly to guide the reins of government in so critical circumstances. The pontiff committed them to the hands of a congregation composed of some cardinals, as Albani, Gerdyl, Antonelli, Borgia, Zelada himself, together with some prelates, and appointed as their *fiscal*, that is to say their principal agent, a criminalist named Barberi, a just man, it was said, but severe and violent, who, by his excesses, contributed not a little to acce-

legate the downfall of the Roman government. It was through him alone that the pope held correspondence with the congregation, all whose reports Barberi distorted in obedience to the dictates of his own passions. He thus engrossed all the authority which ought to have been vested in the congregation: he exercised acts of personal vengeance: he subserved every suspicion: he let loose every hatred; and, while he continued to disgust Romans and foreigners, the friends and the enemies of France, the pontiff alone considered himself as indebted to him for his own salvation and that of the state. Every individual bowed submissive, every tongue was silent, at least in his presence.

Notwithstanding the clamours of the factions opposed to France, the chevalier Azara still retained not only some ascendancy over the pope, but also the confidence of the Roman people. He condescended to make one last effort to extricate the Holy See from the danger in which a succession of imprudencies had involved it. He consented to become its mediator with the youthful conqueror who menaced its territories, and repaired to Buonaparte at Milan. All Rome in anxious expectation awaited the result of his conferences with that general. The populace loudly expressed their wishes for the preservation of peace: they assembled in crowds before the

door of duke Braschi, whom they suspected of entertaining a desire different from theirs; nor could they otherwise be appeased than by assurances that the duke-nephew had on the contrary determined his uncle to commence a negotiation.

But the progress of the conferences was much less rapid than that of our arms. Intelligence was received at Rome, that, on the first of Messidor (June 19, 1796), a division of the French army had entered the papal dominions. On the frontier of the Bolognese and Modenese territories stood the fort of Urbino, which we could not leave in our rear. It was summoned to surrender. This fort was garrisoned by five hundred soldiers, "fine-looking fellows," said Buonaparte in his relation of the affair, "and well clad: but they were pope's-men!" The fort surrendered. This was our first conquest in the Ecclesiastical State. Soon after, we became masters of Bologna, Ferrara, and even Ancona. Thus the Holy See lost, within a few days, two of its legatine governments, its two finest provinces, which it has never since recovered, and where no individual has regretted its yoke.

The news of these events caused a great ferment among the Romans. They assembled in groups which displayed the features of anxiety rather than of sedition. The government, how-

ever, was alarmed by these appearances: the secretary of state addressed a proclamation to the mal-contents, and spoke to them in the language both of the temporal and spiritual powers, which stood in need of mutual support to succeed in still retaining any authority. "As Christians," said he to them, "have recourse to God: as subjects, place confidence in your sovereign, who leaves nothing unattempted to secure peace."

About this time the priests of the Ecclesiastical State crowded to the temples, to the public squares—opened to their flocks the treasures of celestial liberality—promised *forty thousand years of indulgence* to whoever should assist in repelling the French, "the scourges of the church*."

The general anxiety, however, continued to operate with undiminished poignancy. Already

* Thus they commented on a brief issued by the pope, which had been profusely disseminated through the country, and which is worthy of being preserved, as one of the most curious monuments of atrocious fanaticism. It is as follows:

"To all our dearly-beloved catholic sons, brethren in Jesus Christ.

"We pray you, for the good of Christianity and of his holiness, to take up arms in defence of religion. Whoever shall kill a Frenchman, will perform a sacrifice acceptable to God; and his name shall be inscribed among the names of the elect of the Lord."

See the "Political and Military Memoirs, illustrative of the Secret History of the French Revolution," vol. ii. page 183.

the principal Roman families were seen retiring from the city. The cardinals were preparing to follow them, when a courier arrived, who had been dispatched from Bologna by the chevalier Azara, with the news of the armistice which he had just concluded. The sacrifices which he had been obliged to make were painful: it cost the pope the two legatine governments of Bologna and Ferrara, his finest paintings, his most beautiful statues, and a contribution of fifteen millions: but these were the only terms on which he had been able to arrest the tide of Gallic conquest.

This armistice supplied the enemies of the chevalier Azara with new means of bringing him into discredit, and even rendering him odious. According to their representations, that minister "had sacrificed the Holy See: his conduct" was dictated by his hatred of the Romans, and "by his irreligious principles, evidently similar" to those which the French arms rendered triumphant."—But this was not a season for declamatory invective: it was necessary to devise means of fulfilling the condition of the fatal armistice. The pope immediately sent for the cardinal *camerlingo* and the governor of Rome: he convoked the congregation of state: he deliberated: he resigned himself to his destiny, and in the night of the 28th of June dispatched a

plenipotentiary to Paris. The person chosen for that mission was Pieracchi, who had already been internuncio in France; and with him was associated Evangelisti, whom the chevalier Azara had taken with him to Bologna as his secretary.

These political steps were followed by public prayers, thanksgivings, and proclamations: but the chief difficulty was not yet surmounted. The contribution promised to France must be raised without delay. The ordinary resources were exhausted, nor could taxation furnish new. Pius proposed in a secret consistory to take the remainder of those sums of money which had been treasured in the castle of Saint-Angelo since the pontificate of Sixtus V. On any other occasion such a measure would have been deemed sacrilege: under present circumstances, the terror was now so profound and universal that the pope's proposition was unanimously adopted.

But those treasures of the castle of Saint-Angelo were hardly sufficient to pay the first instalment: for the subsequent payments it became necessary to employ other means. The churches and all the pious foundations were obliged to deliver up all their ornaments and vessels of gold and silver which were not absolutely indispensable for the celebration of divine service. An edict was issued, inviting all the pope's subjects to carry to the treasury all their superfluous plate.

Four Roman noblemen were charged with the collection. The prince Doria sent in a gratuitous donation which was valued at half a million.

To divert the minds of the Romans from brooding on those subjects of anxious concern, prayers were called in to their aid, and indulgences, and miracles in particular, which seemed to be multiplied in these critical moments. At Ancona, notwithstanding the presence of the French who were so little inclined to superstitious credulity, there was not a Madonna that had not exhibited symptoms of animation; and the faithful were firmly persuaded that to the intercession of the Virgin alone they were indebted for that armistice which cost them so dear and yet was so earnestly desired. At Rome, as it was highly proper, the miracles were even more brilliant than at Ancona. There, all the Madonnas opened and shut and rolled their eyes: near some of them, withered flowers recovered their bloom, dry branches resumed their verdure; and the multitude flocked in crowds to the sight, admired, and attested what they had seen.

It was amid this phrensy of devotion that the chevalier Azara entered Rome on his return from Bologna. Notwithstanding the instigations of the chevalier's enemies, the pontiff received him with eager warmth, gave him several secret

audiences, and received from him counsels of which subsequent events have proved that he had not the wisdom to avail himself. Pius's intellects were at this time in a state nearly bordering on alienation: but there was something gloomy in his delirium. Those miracles, which by all his flock were considered as so auspicious omens, to him appeared sure tokens of the divine wrath: to appease it, he ordered visits, in the form of processions, to six churches. In those religious ceremonies, ladies of the highest rank bore the sacred banner; and the cardinal della Sommaglia, well fitted by his natural cast as by his station for acting every sort of character, did not disdain the task of carrying the cross.

Such was the manner in which the court of Rome was preparing to receive the French commissioners who were coming to execute the conditions of the armistice. The cardinal Zelada thought it his duty to testify the warmest desire of giving them a good reception: and although it was well known what he thought of the situation of the Holy See, he had the effrontery to declare in a hypocritic proclamation that the armistice was "an effect of God's mercy, " since it was, after all, an advantage to sacrifice a part for the sake of preserving the rest." He moreover threatened with the severest punishments whoever should dare to offer even the

flightest insult to the French commissioners or any of their suite. By this conduct the court of Rome announced very pacific intentions, but at the same time betrayed considerable distrust of the dispositions of the Roman people, and seemed to prepare for itself an apology beforehand.

In the month of July, arrived the first of the expected commissioners, citizen Miot, our minister in Tuscany. The chevalier Azara, who after having transacted the affairs of the court of Rome now did the honours for it, went to meet the Gallic commissioner as far as Ponte-Molle, and introduced him into Rome under the escort of a piquet of cavalry, and preceded by a French courier decorated with that tricolor cockade which, a few months before, had so violently excited the indignation of the Roman people.

Miot was at first received with all the appearances of warm cordiality, and distinguished by those honours which are usually reserved for ambassadors extraordinary. All the cardinals, so well schooled in the arts of dissimulation, came to visit him. The chevalier Azara procured him an audience of the pope, which lasted nearly an hour: the conversation wholly turned on indifferent topics, nor was any except transient mention made of the conditions of the armistice. Pius solemnly declared that they were, in

his eyes, "*una cosa sacrosanta* *:" but experience soon taught us what degree of sincerity accompanied those words pronounced with a penitential air. Afterward, for form-sake, Miot had a conference with the cardinal Zelada. The latter was so enfeebled by age and solicitude as hardly to retain the use of speech: he therefore nominated a prelate to supply his place in the conferences relative to the armistice.

The other French commissioners successively arrived. Their presence caused a lively sensation at Rome: they were viewed with an eager curiosity which had nothing offensive in it. They naturally awaked unpleasing recollections: but what comparison between a set of pacific commissioners—for the most part men of temperate prudence—and those formidable conquerors from whom the city ought to have deemed herself thrice happy to have only received laws at a distance? Cacault, who had long been employed in Italy, closely followed Miot to Rome; and, at the end of July, the conferences respecting the execution of the armistice were begun in the chevalier Azara's hotel. At those meetings the pope employed, as his interpreter, the *fiscal* Barberi, whose intractable disposition was already too well known. He still possessed paramount influence, and exerted it in such manner

* A most sacred object.

as to increase the number of wrongs chargeable on the pope. They had not yet reached the term of their final completion.

At this period we received a slight check, and were obliged to relinquish for some time the siege of Mantua. Pius's perfidious counsellors saw that this was a favourable moment to repair at least a part of his losses; and, notwithstanding the energetic representations of the chevalier Azara, the pontiff dispatched a vice-legate to retake possession of the legation of Ferrara. This little triumph was of short duration. The vice-legate, on his arrival, found the Ferrarese tolerably quiet, and imagined that they were disposed to replace themselves with pleasure under the papal yoke: but he saw them rise in insurrection when he attempted to substitute the arms of the sovereign pontiff to those of the French republic. Soon afterward the tide of Gallic victory resumed its wonted course: the vice-legate's mission was at an end; and he thought himself very fortunate in being allowed to return to Rome.

Meantime the respectful attentions which had in the first instance been shown to the French commissioners were succeeded by insults as soon as our situation began to appear critical. Miot, returning to his post at Florence after a month spent in Rome, became the object of a popular

commotion in his way through Spoleto; nor did he without difficulty escape the rage of the populace who were stirred up against him. Even at Rome, two of our commissioners, who had quietly stopped to view the column of Trajan, were first assailed with a volley of stones thrown by children, and afterward, in attempting to make their escape, heard the alarming cry of "Kill them! they are Frenchmen! they are commissioners!" In fact they were in imminent danger of losing their lives; and, for their preservation, they were solely indebted to the interference of a Roman officer who conducted them to the governor of the city. The latter stammered out an apology in the following hypocritical strain—"You must attribute this commotion, which we disavow and regret, to the unfavourable intelligence received concerning the French armies."—"And what would you say," replied one of the commissaries, "if—now that we have victories to celebrate instead of losses to deplore—we should dispense with our observance of the armistice?"—The governor promised to exert increased vigilance: the commissioners were conducted to their habitation, but not without hearing on every side of them the loud hootings of the populace.

On the second day after this event, notwithstanding the promises of the government, not-

withstanding the numerous patrols, some Frenchmen were again insulted. Cacault lost all patience, and was on the point of suffering his indignation to break forth ; but he was appeased by the chevalier Azara, who promised to obtain for him complete satisfaction from his holiness. Pius wore the appearance of astonishment, of affliction : he issued fresh orders : he commanded guards to be placed within reach of the French plenipotentiary. Some delinquents were arrested ; and assurances were given that they should be punished.

It was these scandalous scenes that finally determined the cardinal Zelada in the intention which he had long formed of retiring from office. He was very old and infirm, and saw himself responsible for disagreeable incidents which he had not the power to prevent. The entire government of Rome rested at this time on the internal police, which was nominally intrusted to the congregation heretofore mentioned, but in fact was entirely surrendered to the *fiscal* Barberi, who was now become the object of universal detestation. On the eleventh of August the chevalier Azara wrote to the pope that the public interest demanded the dismissal of the *fiscal*, as the only mean of keeping the people within bounds, and appeasing the French republic, whose resentment might be productive of the

most disagreeable consequences to the Ecclesiastical State.

But Pius could not consent to part with Barberi. He thought the views of the Spanish minister were equally answered by substituting in Zelada's stead a cardinal toward whom Azara appeared to be very favourably disposed, and who was reputed to possess both prudence and energy. He informed the chevalier that he had appointed to the ministry the cardinal Ignatius Busca.

Since this new minister may be considered as the immediate cause of the final calamities of the Holy See, he deserves to be more particularly known.

The prelate Busca, sprung from an illustrious family in the Milanese, was gifted with some external accomplishments : to tallness of stature and elegance of figure he added that manner which announced an acquaintance with polite life, and language sufficiently florid to disguise the mediocrity of his mental endowments.

He had travelled in his youth, and, after having peragrated France and Germany, had been nominated to the post of nuncio at Brussels. This was not one of those nunciatures which directly led to the cardinalate. On his return, Busca was appointed governor of Rome. In addition to zeal and steadiness, that post required

considerable abilities. Busca endeavoured to distinguish himself in it by his reforms: but he was completely the man of pleasure; he soon relinquished a task which was rendered too laborious by the contrarieties he had to encounter; and, on quitting the governorship of Rome to put on the cardinal's hat, he humorously enough observed that the only obligation which the Romans had consented to owe him, was that of having taught them "the use of ice-punch."

This speech was characteristic of him in a two-fold light—as a sensualist and as a man of humour. Those two qualities—which, whether good or bad, are pretty generally associated with frankness—concealed in the cardinal dissimulation sufficiently profound to mislead even the chevalier Azara in forming his opinion of him. Busca perceived that this minister was the only man in Rome who preserved the coolness of sober judgement amid the most violent tempests—the only one in whom the pope continued to place any confidence, and by whose aid "a man of talents, such as *he* was," could hope to act a conspicuous part. He attached himself to his company: he assiduously frequented the circle of the princess della Santa-Croce, which had long been the habitual rendez-vous of the foreign ministers, especially those of France and Spain. That lady was essentially

kind, easy, obliging. The cardinal Busca succeeded in his efforts to please her : he often saw at her house the chevalier Azara, and gave him testimonies of confidence, affection, deference. A close intimacy took place between them ; and the chevalier Azara, whom on other occasions it was not easy to deceive, fancied he saw in him not only a friend, but also a man of amiable disposition, refined understanding, and conciliating manner,—such, in short, as the pope could desire for his minister in the critical circumstances by which he was surrounded.

The cardinal Zelada was disgusted with the ministry, and had given more than sufficient proofs of his incapacity. Nothing more than the slightest hint was necessary to induce him to retire. The Spanish minister, who poised in his hand the destiny of Rome, was perfectly sure of being able to influence the pontiff in his choice of a new secretary of state. Our agent in Rome at this time was Cacault, who had for many years been employed in political missions in Italy, where he had won the general esteem. Cacault frequently saw the cardinal Busca, and had conceived of him as favourable an opinion as that entertained by the chevalier Azara. They both seemed to have forgotten a scene which had proved that those forms of urbanity which the cardinal well knew how to assume,

were a cloak under which lurked considerable violence and rudeness of passion. At table at the house of the princess della Santa-Croce, one of the guests, who excited his jealousy, having indulged in some poignant sallies, Busca dashed his plate in his rival's face. He would not have escaped a severe retaliation, if the princess had not interposed her conciliatory influence to separate the two champions. Through respect for her, the quarrel was appeased, and the amiable cardinal was pardoned that "momentary start of *vivacity*."

This adventure was nearly forgotten when Busca was proposed to the pontiff by the Spanish minister to fill the post of secretary of state—that is to say, was appointed. The chevalier Azara soon had reason to reckon him among the number of those who requited his favours by ingratitude, and Rome had equal cause to account him one of her most dangerous ministers.

Of the different factions which agitated Rome and oppressed the feeble pontiff with a load of heavy anxieties, the most active was that of the Albani, which was, on more than one account, devoted to the house of Austria. The cardinal of that name, as dean of the Sacred College and by his birth a member of almost all the congregations, had great influence on the determinations of the Holy See. One of his nephews was

nuncio at Vienna: another was employed about the person of the archduke Ferdinand, governor-general of Lombardy. Thus the whole family were, by the ties of interest, attached to the court of Vienna. They and all their adherents, the fanatics, the partisans of the English and Neapolitans, vented murmurs of indignation at the bare sound of our successes in Italy, and exerted their utmost efforts to drag the court of Rome into the coalition of confederate Europe; not, however, on a presumption that Pius could, as a temporal potentate, throw any great weight into the scale; but because they knew that the Holy See still retained a powerful empire over the consciences of a part of Europe, and that, in the eyes of those faithful sons of the church, a cause became sanctified by the adherence of the sovereign pontiff.

The various enemies of France, then, employed at Rome all the machinations of intrigue, at one time to depreciate our victories, at another to predict our disasters, and on every occasion to defame both the principles of the French revolution and the men who laboured to establish it. The moment our successes appeared doubtful, those intriguers inflamed the mind of government, urged the military preparations, and recommended measures of oppression. Did we gain any advantages? they immediately re-

ceded; and the court of Rome, obedient to their impulse, spoke in the language of conciliation, and adopted some steps tending to prove its pacific disposition.

At this period the Neapolitans were preparing to send assistance to Austria; an object which they could not accomplish without marching their troops through the territories of the Ecclesiastical State. Already they had advanced a body of three thousand men to Pontecorvo, under pretence of preventing desertion. This circumstance was an additional cause of embarrassment to the court of Rome, who saw that they must repel, as a band of invaders, those troops whose presence they could not but secretly desire for their own defence. Caccault, in a written memorial, declared to the cardinal secretary of state, that, if the Neapolitans entered the Roman territory, his government would consider the armistice as broken. This menacing notice was communicated to the court of Naples; and on the answer of that court was now to depend the alternative of peace or war.

The court of Rome were already involved in considerable perplexity, when they received a courier from Paris. His dispatches related to the negotiation which was about to be commenced at Florence in consequence of the ar-

mistice. The demands of the French government were peremptory. The hour of conquest was not yet come ; but the season of delicacy was already past. We demanded, as a preliminary step, a declaration by the pope, setting forth, that, whereas certain common enemies had surreptitiously obtained from his piety certain briefs which, in their principles and their effects, were contrary to the rights of nations, he “disproved and annulled them.” The injunction was severe: that the *infallible* pontiff should, to the face of the universe, acknowledge himself to have been *mistaken*! should accuse his friends! should renounce them! But the danger was urgent, and called for a speedy determination. Pius assembled a congregation more numerous than any of the preceding, and composed of all the most enlightened members of the Sacred College. These were the dean Albani, Zelada, Gerdyl, Bufca, Antici, della Sommaglia, Antonelli, all cardinals of whom we have already spoken—Caraffa, a man of talents, but intriguing, dangerous, and avowedly hostile to the French—Roverella, one of those whose pleasing manner had recommended them to the pope, and who with suavity of disposition united a mind tolerably well cultivated—Altieri, prudent and moderate even to timidity—Carandini, not defi-

cient either in address or capacity, but devoured by secret ambition, and universally hated and feared, &c.

Even before this Areopagus had declared its opinion, Pius had again recourse to the interposition of the chevalier Azara to dissipate the storm which was gathering against him at Florence. But the apparent homage, thus paid to his capacity, was only a mean employed by his enemies to remove him out of the way. He soon perceived that such had been their view: for hardly had he set out on his mission when the sapient congregation pronounced in the most strongly negative terms on the pretensions of the Gallic government. In particular, the two oracles of Roman theology, Gerdyl and Antonelli, displayed all their eloquence and erudition to prove that the church was undone if her chief incurred the criminal baseness of making the retrograde step which was required of him. His briefs, they maintained, were conformable to the decisions of the councils, the opinions of the holy fathers, &c.; and by a retraction of them he would sanction all the inroads made during the last seven years upon the rights of the church.

In dictating this decision, the spirit of fanaticism had perhaps less influence than the spirit of party—that is to say, of that Austrian faction

which had thrown aside the mask since the departure of the chevalier Azara, and under whose banner the new secretary of state had enrolled himself. The great negotiator Galeppi, who had accompanied Azara, still however contrived to save appearances. Suddenly returned from Florence, he arrives at Rome, has a conference with the pope, another with the cardinal Busca. A new congregation, more numerous than the preceding, is directed to examine the conditions of peace proposed by the French government, and rejects them as inadmissible. Galeppi returns to Florence to try the effect of a new attempt: but the predominant party at Rome were bent upon war; and the step which they had taken rendered it unavoidable: they therefore make preparation for it, and by means which only increase the discontent of the people.

The pope depreciates the coin by increasing its nominal value above one fourth.

He deprives the churches and private individuals of all their superfluous plate.

He obliges all proprietors to sell their corn at a low price to the department of the *annona*, and, in payment, to accept *cedole* at par, though at this time they were subject to a discount of above fifty *per cent*.

The military preparatives were now carried

on with redoubled activity. A civic guard was organised at Rome; and the greatest families aspired to distinguish themselves on the occasion. The senator Rezzonico is nominated generalissimo of that guard: the three princes, Aldobrandini, Gabrielli, and Giustiniani, are appointed colonels. Thirty-two companies are formed, each consisting of a hundred and fifty men: numerous patrols scour the streets by night and by day; and Rome *the holy* once more becomes Rome the warlike. Levies are made on all sides; seven hundred men are dispatched toward Bologna and Ferrara: the cardinal Busca collects all the vagabonds scattered throughout the Ecclesiastical State, who are compelled either to take up arms in its defence or to quit the country: the militia assembles with activity: nought is seen in every direction but transportations of small arms*, artillery, tents, waggons. Contributions of every species pour in from all quarters: gold, silver, jewels, *cedole*, provisions, cattle, every thing is offered with a kind of enthusiasm which might have been mistaken for that of patriotism. Several rich individuals levied corps at their own charge, or

* The expression in the original is somewhat different, viz. *armes blanches*, comprising swords, bayonets, pikes, &c. &c. but excluding all kinds of fire-arms.

defrayed the expense of equipping or arming them—the constable Colonna, for instance, a complete regiment of infantry—the banker Turlonia, a company of cavalry consisting of eighty men fully equipped.

In this almost general ferment, equal activity is every-where displayed. The Roman government, shaking off its habitual torpor, seems to have resumed some portion of energy only for the purpose of running with hasty strides to ruin. Pius, himself the tool of the predominant faction, sends to all the catholic courts a manifesto, in which, after having explained the state of his negotiation with France, he calls upon them to unite in the defence of religion. At the same time he addresses to his subjects a proclamation exhorting them to take up arms for the purpose of repelling the aggressor. He suspends the execution of the armistice, which had already been commenced. Half a million, on account of the contribution which he had to pay, was by this time at Rimini: he ordered it to be brought back, together with the cattle that constituted a part of the fourth million payable in articles of provision. The seven hundred thousand crowns drawn from the castle of Saint-Angelo for the same purpose, were carried back to the coffers whence they had been taken: the statues, already packed up in cases, were replaced in their

former stations : the cardinal Pignatelli, who was advanced on his journey toward Brescia, received orders to return.

All these measures, liable to the charge of rashness at least, were principally concerted with the court of Vienna ; but, from that of Naples likewise, support was confidently expected ; when suddenly the Roman government were informed that the marquis del Vasto had just signed a treaty of peace between that court and the French republic. They instantly considered themselves as undone ; and in fact so they were, but for a combination of circumstances to which the papacy was indebted for the ephemeral prolongation of its existence.

Let posterity determine what motives could have induced Buonaparte to spare the pontifical throne which it would have been so easy for him to crush under the wheels of his triumphal car : suffice it for us to retrace here a summary sketch of those facts of which we have been witnesses.

The chevalier Azara, who had gone to Florence in the hope of saving the court of Rome, felt something more than astonishment on learning, that, in his absence, so great and successful pains were taken to ruin it ; and that, instead of wishing for his return, the cabal openly congratulated themselves on having rescued the

pontiff from his influence. Pius knew not well how he ought to conduct himself toward the Spanish minister: on the one hand, he dared not venture to follow his counsels; on the other, he was afraid of displeasing the court of Madrid. In October 1796, he thought it incumbent on him to make a direct application to Charles IV., requesting him to interpose his mediation between France and the Holy See.

The Spanish monarch returned a very affectionate answer, in which however he explicitly declined the requested interference. The pontiff now felt how unwisely he had acted in abandoning Azara to the blind indignation of the fanatics. The cardinal Busca endeavoured to preserve toward the chevalier a semblance of cordiality and gratitude even at the moment while he entertained with the court of Vienna a perfidious connexion, of which the intended issue was to terminate in the overturning of all that the Spanish minister had accomplished: and in his correspondence, to which he laboured to give the appearance of friendship, he had intimated to him that the pope would feel himself seriously embarrassed if, at so critical a juncture, that minister were again to make his appearance at Rome. This was the circumstance that gave rise to the letter written by Azara to cardinal Busca in the year 1796,—a letter certainly not

intended for publication, but which nevertheless was published.

That letter was noble and lofty: the just repentment that warmed Azara's breast, was disguised in it under the forms of friendship and familiarity, which however did not prevent it from being extremely apparent. He gave the papal minister information of the treaty which we had recently concluded with the Neapolitan court, and of the consequences which must thence result to the Holy See. "I ought not," added he, "to communicate such intelligence to a minister who is not at liberty to enter into explanations with a *poor infected mortal*: but my heart is weak, and feels an affection for my friends, even when they are *ungrateful*, because it supposes them to be mistaken, and willing to be undeceived."—"I see," added he in another place, "that, in spite of evil influence, he" (the pope, who had written to him) "retains a friendship and kindness for me: assure him that I am very far from wishing to expose him to the inconvenience which he might suffer from my return to Rome. I well know to what excesses a crowd of phrenzied fools are capable of proceeding: they may cause the Spanish palace to be set on fire, my furniture to be destroyed—they may indulge in every outrage against me—but they cannot

“ disturb the peace of my conscience. It does
 “ not become me to obtrude my advice, while you
 “ have so many other advisers: yet, as a last
 “ token of my friendship, I must inform you
 “ that a moment may save you at the expense
 “ of some sacrifices: but, that moment once
 “ elapsed, your ruin will be complete If
 “ a reliance on your own strength, if your arma-
 “ ments, inspire you with confidence, *consumma-
 tum est* *.” —“ Assure the pope,” said he in con-
 clusion, “ that I am his friend, not his flat-
 “ terer.” Then assuming with the cardinal a
 tone of familiar gaiety which reminded him of
 his former connexions with the Spanish minister,
 and of one of his Eminence’s favourite inclina-
 tions, “ As to you,” said he, “ most eminent
 “ secretary ! I would be strongly tempted to give
 “ you a drubbing, and then to dine with you on
 “ turkey and truffles. Adieu ! I bestow on you
 “ my benediction.”

But these reproaches were ineffectual, these
 advices came too late: the pope was too closely
 surrounded by evil counsellors, to be any longer
 accessible to the voice of reason. In vain was
 Cacault vested with plenipotential authority to
 negotiate: in vain did Buonaparte send informa-
 tion to the pope that his holiness had it in his

* The business is done—’tis all over with you.

power to obtain terms less severe than those which had been sent to him from Florence; that, for his own part, he wished "rather to be "the saviour of the head of the church, and of "those beautiful countries, than their destroyer."

The only answer obtained by Cacaault, was, that the court of Rome lay under engagements to the emperor, whom it was therefore necessary for them to consult in the first instance.

Accordingly there existed at that time a very active negotiation between monsignor Albani and the cabinet of Vienna. At first the interpreter of the Holy See was very indifferently received: he heard the court of Rome condemned for having signed the armistice and formed a connexion with the court of Naples without the emperor's consent; nor did he obtain more than a hope that his imperial majesty would not abandon the cause of the church.

The coldness of this reception nearly had the effect of leading back the court of Rome into the path of prudence; and inducing them to resume the negotiations which had been commenced at Florence. Such indeed was the conduct recommended by some of the cardinals, and particularly by Valenti and Antici: but the opinion of cardinal Albani prevailed. "There is," said he to the congregation, "nothing surprising in the "reception of which you complain: it is only a

“ natural consequence of the German manners :
 “ let us temporise : we may rest assured that the
 “ court of Vienna will again come over to us.”

The event in some measure verified the predictions of the cardinal dean. Soon after, a courier from his nephew arrives with information that the emperor had consented to an alliance with the pontiff, and promised to send him general Colli, several officers, and ten thousand men, to drive the French from both the legations.

This intelligence intoxicated with joy the pope and that crowd of fanatics who wished for war, from whose dangers they were personally exempt. The delirium appeared universal in Rome, because moderate men were silent and sighed in secret. Whoever should have attempted to open the eyes of the court of Rome to the inanity of their projects, and to the dangers which they courted, would have been branded as a *Jacobin*. The fatal war into which they had determined to plunge, was clothed with all the forms of a war *in defence of religion*.

Each body of troops, previous to their departure, assisted at a sermon well calculated to fire their bosoms with fanaticism. The volunteer cavalry, before they commenced their march, devoted a week, not to tactical manœuvres, but to *spiritual exercises*. On the sixth

of January 1797, were consecrated, in Saint-Peter's church, the colours of several corps who were ready to take the field. On those colours was embroidered a cross in imitation of the *labarum* of Constantine, accompanied by the following inscription, an infallible preface of victory—" *In hoc signo vinces.*"—"Go!" cried the fanatic monks who were commissioned to exhort those patriot heroes—"go, fight in the cause of religion! Imitate your ancestors! Go, and conquer the universe!"

Amid this phrensy of enthusiasm, it was difficult to obtain a hearing for the language of moderation. Cacault nevertheless attempted it: he proposed some conditions which under any other circumstances would have been accepted. The Neapolitan minister, the marquis del Vasto, who at this time possessed considerable influence, acted as mediator in hope of inducing the court of Rome to accede to them. But the congregation, being consulted, rejected them almost unanimously; demanding, as a preliminary, the restitution of the two legations.

During these transactions, on the twentieth of January arrives general Colli, whose presence inspires the Romans with additional boldness. He visits his holiness's petty army: he is pleased with the soldiers, dissatisfied with the officers: he demands augmentations, particularly in ca-

valry. The pope reposes in him a blind confidence, and intrusts him with the exercise of his sovereign power. He strains every nerve to complete, under the command of the Austrian general, the number of at least six thousand horse and eight thousand foot.—But Buonaparte is soon to re-appear upon the stage, and the scene will quickly change.

That youthful conqueror, obliged to raise the siege of Mantua, had marched with a detachment of his army to strike a blow at Legorn. At the expiration of three weeks he was returned. In the interval of his absence, the scattered parts of his army had formed a union. Our enemies, whose hopes had been re-animated by that diversion to a point remote from the principal theatre of the war, now speedily saw all their projects overthrown; The year 1796 concluded with a series of successes so brilliant and rapid and numerous, that the military history of the universe cannot perhaps furnish a more memorable epoch.

It was during this time that the pope carried on his negotiations with the emperor, and obtained from him the promise of ten thousand men and one of his generals. We already had strong reasons for suspecting this perfidious under-plot, when Buonaparte found positive proof of it in an intercepted letter from the cardinal

Busca to monsignor Albani who so faithfully served at Vienna the anti-gallican faction in Rome. The cardinal very explicitly said in that letter—"So long as I am allowed to hope for assistance from the emperor, I will temporise with respect to the propositions of peace made to us by the French." And in another place—"Still true to my opinion, and jealous of my honour, which I think hurt by treating with the French while there exists a negotiation pending between us and the court of Vienna." He spoke in it with great frankness respecting general Colli: he impatiently awaited his arrival, he calculated with monsignor Albani the means of exciting a civil war in France, "without too deeply implicating the Holy See," &c.

After such a discovery there was no longer any delicacy to be observed toward the court of Rome. On the thirteenth of Pluviose (February, 18, 1797) Buonaparte, from his head-quarters at Bologna, declared, that, the pope having formally refused to execute two articles of the armistice concluded on the second of Messidor preceding—having incessantly continued to excite people to the crusade against France—having even caused his troops to advance within ten miles of Bologna—having commenced hostile negotiations with the court of Vienna—and, finally, having refused to answer the pacific

overtures made by citizen Cacault, minister of the French republic, &c.—the armistice was broken.

Immediately after the promulgation of this species of manifesto, the French army invaded the Ecclesiastical State, seized upon Imola, Forli, Cesena (the pope's birth-place); and, in the outset, Pius suffered the loss of four or five hundred men killed, a thousand prisoners, four pieces of artillery, &c.

Colli, however, was exempt from the disgrace of these first disasters. He had not reached Rome until the twelfth of January; when he immediately bestowed his attention on the organisation of the papal forces. But our warriors gained so rapid successes that the commander in chief of the troops of the Holy See was soon left without an army to command. In few days the French made themselves masters of Romagna, the duchy of Urbino, and the marquisate of Ancona; and on the thirtieth of Pluviose (February 18) Buonaparte dated his dispatches from his head-quarters at Tolentino, some leagues beyond Loreto: for the celebrated image of the Virgin at that place had performed no miracles to check the rapidity of our career. The *Santa Casa*, which contained it, was situate on an eminence commanding the shore of the Adriatic, from which it is two miles and half distant.

Defended by a feeble wall, two small forts, and a garrison of twelve men, what resources did it possess for resistance on every side, and particularly on that of the land? But the beach is unapproachable except by boats: and that wall, those forts, the proximity of the fortrefs of Ancona—the strength of the church containing the treasures, which is solidly built, and secured with brazen gates—the *Santa Casa* itself being coated with marble and shut with iron doors—all these circumstances combined were sufficient to preserve the revered image from the rapacity of the infidels. The pope little suspected by what kind of *infidels* this monument of superstition was to be plundered: it suffered that fate from the hands of the French so easily victorious. A lavish profusion of diamonds ornamented the Virgin and the infant Jesus: but devotees are credulous and far from quick-sighted; and the profane visit of Buonaparte was necessary to convince the world that the greater number of those diamonds were equally false as the divinity to whom they were consecrated.

Meanwhile what were the Romans doing? They had at first suffered their imaginations to be dazzled by the most brilliant illusions on seeing that the emperor seriously attended to the interests of the Holy See: anti-gallican hatred was suffered to rage uncontrolled: Frenchmen were

imprisoned: our commissioners were insulted, and particularly our minister Cécault. But, on hearing of the triumphant march of the Gallic army, Rome trembled, and turned her attention toward the means of appeasing the resentment of the exasperated conqueror.

That conqueror, however, was less formidable than the Romans supposed him: he did not wish to overturn the pontifical throne; and he now gave a second proof of his disposition in that respect.

When, in the preceding year, after he had invaded the legatine governments of Bologna and Ferrara, there broke forth an insurrection in the latter, the little town of Lugo, which had been the principal focus of the disorder, was indeed treated with great rigor: but the hand of vengeance stopped there: for Buonaparte aimed only at producing repentance; witness, his treatment of cardinal Mattei, archbishop of Ferrara.

Sprung from one of the principal families of Rome, and elevated to the highest dignities of the church, Mattei was as simple as a village-priest, and with all the sincerity of his heart a fanatic. At the approach of the French, he had mounted his pulpit and declaimed against them with truly apostolic zeal. Buonaparte, victorious in spite of his eminence's holy oratory, sent fo

him, reprimanded him, and ordered him to prison. On the morrow he summoned him to his presence, and made him undergo a long admonition, to which the good cardinal made no other answer than a humble *peccavi* *. Buonaparte, affected by his docility, proposed to him, as an atonement for his offences, to go in person to Rome, there to negotiate a solid peace, and thus to save his country and his sovereign.

Mattei embraced the offer with enthusiasm, and promised every thing that was required of him, provided that the spiritual rights of the Holy See should remain inviolate. He more than once repeated—"We can resignedly submit to every temporal sacrifice : but, for God's sake, dear general ! let us not meddle with spiritual matters." In this disposition he set out for Rome, where at first he experienced an indifferent reception because he made profession of pacific sentiments which did not accord with those of the Holy See : but it was soon glad to employ his interpolation.

He had now continued at Rome since the month of October 1796 : and, on the news of Buonaparte's successes, he wrote to that conqueror a pathetic letter which did not fail to produce its intended effect. Buonaparte an-

* I have transgressed—I have done wrong.

swered it on the twenty-fifth of Pluviose: "I
 "recognise," said he to the cardinal, "in the
 "letter that you have taken the trouble of writ-
 "ing to me, that simplicity of manners which
 "characterises you."—The general then entered
 into some details respecting the causes of com-
 plaint which the court of Rome had given to
 France, and concluded with these words—"I
 "am willing once more to prove to entire Eu-
 "rope the moderation of the directory of the
 "French republic, by granting him * *five days*
 "to send a negotiator, provided with full powers,
 "who shall repair to Foligno, where I shall
 "be," &c.

Instead of a single plenipotentiary, the pope
 without delay sent him four—his nephew the
 duke Ludovico-Braschi, and the marquis Cam-
 millo Maffimi, merely for the sake of adding
 dignity to the transaction—the cardinal Mattei,
 as personally known to Buonaparte—and mon-
 signor Galeppi, an acute and dextrous negoti-
 ator, and, of the four, the one upon whom he
 placed the greatest reliance. They had an in-
 terview with Buonaparte at Tolentino, instead
 of Foligno, the place before appointed.

The conferences at first proceeded slowly.
 The plenipotentiaries attempted to higgie about

* The pope.

a few millions: but Buonaparte, who was equally in haste to levy a sort of contribution on the Ecclesiastical State, and to return and place himself again at the head of his army to invade the hereditary states of the emperor—Buonaparte, tired of the tedious progress of the Roman negotiators, said to cardinal Mattei on the eighteenth of February 1797, “If you do not to-morrow give unreserved consent to all my propositions, on the following day I’ll march against Rome.”—On the morrow the good cardinal waited on the general, saying, “We consent to the whole.”

Immediately they began to draw up the articles: they dined: after dinner the treaty was concluded: they signed it: they supped, embraced each other, and separated. The next day Buonaparte, with the officers of his staff, was on his way to Austria, having left behind him general Victor, who, with an army of fifteen thousand men, formed a line across the Ecclesiastical State, from Perugia to Ancona, and remained there until the articles of the treaty were carried into execution. The principal of those articles were in substance as follow—

The pope shall pay thirty-one millions.

He shall furnish sixteen hundred horses fully caparisoned.

He shall grant a pension to the family of Basseville.

There shall be a treaty of commerce concluded with France.

All Romagna shall be free ; and there shall be a French garrison at Ancona.

While this treaty was under negotiation, the greater part of the Ecclesiastical State was occupied by the French arms ; and all was confusion at Rome. Terror had silenced resentment. There was neither courage nor unanimity in the councils : not a man to be found who was capable of directing the measures which circumstances required. The pope in particular was panic-struck ; and, while his deputies were setting out for Tolentino, he was making his preparations for retiring to Naples. A considerable treasure was to have been sent before him to Terracina. On the report of that project, the people flocked in crowds to the bank to exchange their *cedole*, which they offered at a discount of seventy per cent. The treasure disappeared : the pontiff was diverted from his project ; and, to give a different direction to the people's thoughts, he lavishly treated them with processions, the forty hours' prayers, and pulpit invective against the French.

With respect to general Colli, he soon perceived that he had been placed at the head of troops who ran away at the slightest shadow of danger. He had reason to congratulate himself on the resolution which the pope had taken, of

terminating so unfortunate a war with all possible speed: but he had the mortification of seeing the pontiff's deputies set out to beg a peace at Tolentino without giving him any notice, and the treaty afterward signed without any intimation to him of what was going forward. Never had a campaign been of shorter duration, never mission less successful. He hastened to quit a theatre where he had found neither glory nor respect.

The pope had much stronger claims to pity, if indeed compassion be due to merited misfortunes. He saw the fabric of his hopes overthrown, three of his provinces irrecoverably lost, his coffers empty, his subjects discontented, and already exhausted by the pecuniary efforts which the armistice had required. New exertions however were necessary to fulfil the conditions of the recent treaty. On the twenty-fourth of February, the cardinal Busca published a mournful proclamation, in which he reminded the pontiff's subjects, that, "on the sixth of July
"preceding, they had been called upon to deliver up the whole of their plate; that afterward the pope had graciously contented himself with one half; but that, the present conjuncture being yet more critical than the former, his holiness commanded that the remaining moiety of those articles of gold and silver

“should within the space of three days be carried to the pontifical treasury.”

This was one of the last public acts performed by that cardinal Busca who had so insolently betrayed the confidence reposed in him by the ministers of France and Spain. The pope, to convince the French government of the sincerity of his conversion, thought it necessary to dismiss the perfidious minister who had led him astray, and well nigh ruined him. By that step he particularly wished to appease the chevalier Azara, whom a very just resentment kept as it were in exile at Florence. Accordingly, as soon as Busca was retired from office, pressing solicitations were made to induce the Spanish minister to return to Rome. Accordingly he did return, but not till after the expiration of a month. The pride of the Holy See, however, would not suffer the public to entertain an idea that it was solely for the purpose of gratifying the court of Madrid that the cardinal had been dismissed. A report was spread in Rome that the pope had only yielded to the express desire of Busca himself.

The choice of a person to succeed him was embarrassing. The post of prime minister could not be given to any cardinal against whom strong prepossessions were entertained by the French government—a circumstance which necessarily

excluded a great number of the members of the Sacred College. The Neapolitan minister, the marquis del Vasto, was at this time all-powerful in Rome. He was the soul of the party who had hurried the Holy See into ill-judged measures, and whose hopes had been so completely disappointed. He had recently cemented an alliance between his family and that of the cardinal Doria, of whom a favourable idea had been formed in France, and with whom the French and Spanish ministers had always lived on a footing of intimacy. He thought that the choice of such a minister would reconcile all the different interests; and, while he only consulted his own private affection, he well enough promoted our views. The cardinal Doria united a good understanding with purity of intentions, but possessed neither the experience nor the energy which the circumstances of the times would have required. He did not personally merit any serious reproaches from us: and, though he was unable to support the tottering fabric of the Roman government, at least he did not contribute to accelerate its fall.

But that government had already received the fatal shock, and the peace of Tolentino could not save it from ruin. That pacification had only increased the disasters, the discontents, and the exhaustion of the state. The papal territories

were every-where shaken by violent convulsions : in the marquisate of Ancona, at Macerata, at Jesi, at Monte-Sant-Elpidio, insurrectionary attacks were made upon the French ; nor was it without bloody executions that the rebels could be repressed. In the duchy of Urbino, on the contrary, where the Gallic invasion had excited a relish and a hope of liberty, the people felt extreme reluctance to bend their necks anew to the pontifical yoke : and in a state much more contiguous to the capital, in the Perugino, there existed a wish to shake off the papal chain, and form a union with the Cis-Padane republic. Never had any country groaned under the infliction of so many scourges at the same moment.

The resentment of Spain furnished an additional cause of chagrin to the Holy See. Charles IV. had felt deep indignation at the manner in which the court of Rome had behaved toward the chevalier Azara : and he thought it inconsistent with his dignity that he should again make his appearance there until he had received signal satisfaction. Nevertheless, when the Spanish monarch saw the Ecclesiastical State invaded by our troops, and the holy father threatened in his very capital, his filial piety was moved : the chevalier Azara was authorised to return to his post, and accordingly he went back to Rome in April 1797.

Charles went further, but under the influence of certain motives which the Holy See did not perhaps suspect till afterward.—There were then at his court two prelates, supposed to be very active intriguers, and whom a prevalent party wished to remove out of the way under some plausible pretext. The critical position in which his holiness at this time stood, furnished such a pretext: a proposal was made to them of going to compliment the pope, to give him consolation, to aid him by their counsels: and, for the purpose of concealing the real object of this mission, the precaution was taken of decorating it by the addition of a prelate respectable for his character, as well as the regularity of his conduct and his exalted dignity—the cardinal Lorenzana, archbishop of Toledo. The two prelates who accompanied him were d'Espuig, archbishop of Seville, who had formerly been at Rome in the quality of auditor of the *Rota*—and Musquiz, archbishop of Seleucia, and ghostly director to the queen.

These three prelates set out under a persuasion that they were going to fulfil a very important mission. D'Espuig, in particular, who entertained ambitious views, did not doubt that it would conduct him to the honours of the cardinalate and the office of protector of the churches of Spain. The cardinal Lorenzana, much more

simple in his manners as well as his desires, and sincerely attached to the Holy See, undertook the journey to Rome as an apostolic peregrination. He was a devoted son going to aid his parent in distress. The reverend fathers of the order of Mercy, with whom he had formerly had connexions, had prepared a lodging in their convent for him and his two fellow-travellers. The chevalier Azara had recently returned to Rome, where he still had numerous enemies. Wishing to remove the cardinal Lorenzana beyond the reach of their influence, he urgently pressed him to come and reside in the palace of Spain. The two other prelates remained with the monks of the order of Mercy, and soon discovered the inanity of their mission.

This triple embassy, which had made so much noise in Spain and Italy, finally appeared to have had no other object than a simple homage paid by his catholic majesty to the head of the church. The archbishop of Seville and the queen's confessor returned to Spain after the expiration of a few months; the cardinal Lorenzana alone continuing with the pope, whom he did not abandon even in his concluding misfortunes. This was one consolation which the pious and humane Charles wished to leave to the dethroned pontiff.

Commotions, anxieties of every kind, lively alarms, serious losses, a catastrophe which cost

him at once his money and his peace and his glory, humiliations, insurrections, every thing that can render a prince's reign tempestuous—such were the events that marked for Pius the chief part of the year 1797. He was as deeply affected by them as he possibly could be: he was attacked by so severe a malady during the month of May, that the choice of a successor was already become an object of deliberation. Three candidates were placed on the list—Mattei, whose interposition had obtained peace for the Holy See, and who was supposed to be less disagreeable to France than any other cardinal—Antici, whose address and activity we have more than once had occasion to mention—and Chiaramonte, who was supported by the older cardinals who were the most strongly attached to the obsolete pretensions of the court of Rome.

Pius's recovery frustrated many calculations, disappointed many hopes, and even excited dissatisfaction among the Romans, who are more desirous of changes than any other people. The duke Braschi felt the effects of their ill-humour: coming out from his convalescent uncle, he was stunned with a peal of hisses; and, not daring to return to his own palace, he immediately set out for Terracina, taking his way through his duchy of Nemi. This was a new symptom of that fer-

mentation which was beginning to discover itself in several parts of the papal dominions, and even at Rome, where the scarcity of specie inflamed the public discontent to the highest degree. That thirst of revolution which had already possessed a certain portion of the people, showed itself in various modes. On the gate of that same duke Braschi, had been written in red letters these menacing words—" *Arrendetevi, tiranni ! O morte, o libertà * !*" Bills were also stuck up in various places, holding forth the same alarming alternative. The *Carmagnole* and other patriotic airs were publicly sung; and people were heard to say aloud in the streets, " As soon as the pope dies, the face of affairs will be changed." No measures were spared that could tend to provoke an insurrection, or at least to excite the apprehension of such an event. In one place was read on the walls, " The time is come ;" in another, " Rome is in her last agony †." In the beginning of August, a paper was seen posted up, which contained the following lines :

* Submit, ye tyrants ! Death or liberty !

† Literally, " *at the extreme unction*," in allusion to the popish ceremony of anointing sick persons with consecrated oil in their last agonies.

- " Non abbiamo pazienza :
- " Non vogliamo più eminenza,
- " Non vogliamo più santità,
- " Ma eguaglianza e libertà *."

For some time the Roman government continued to witness these disorders with nearly passive apathy: but about the middle of the year 1797 they appeared to assume so alarming an aspect, that it very unseasonably relinquished that system of torpid inactivity, which never could have proved so fatal to it as the vigilance and severity that it thought necessary to be exerted in these latter times. The garrison of Rome was changed, and augmented with additional force: the castle of Saint-Angelo was supplied with provisions and ammunition, as if there had existed an intention of making it sustain a regular siege; and troops were stationed in different quarters of the city.

These, however, were only precautionary measures, for which the influence of urgent terror might be admitted as a reasonable apology: but when the government was seen to employ moreover the expedients of trembling and oppressive despotism—to arrest persons who appeared *suspicious*, such as Angelucci, a skilful surgeon and a zealous patriot, who has since been so amply

* Our patience is exhausted: we do not choose to have any more Eminences or Holinesses, but liberty and equality.

avenged for that transient outrage—two brothers, of the name of Bouchard, bookfellers—Ascanelli, a rich Jew, in whose house were ascertained to have been found ten thousand yellow cockades (the colour worn by the Romans), a quantity of fire-arms, three trees of liberty, &c.—from that moment people said that “the last hour of the papacy was at hand.”

The pecuniary embarrassments, which alone would have been sufficient to excite a revolution, were a serious addition to the many already existing causes of anxiety. The contribution which the French had exacted by the treaty of Tolentino, had exhausted every public, every private, coffer. The pontiff had been obliged to repeat his emissions of *cedole*, consequently to depreciate still lower that paper-money which was already in so low a state of depreciation. The riches of the church still presented him with some resources. Those scruples which respect that *sacred* property in ordinary times, were now wholly unseasonable: accordingly, in the month of August, all the clergy, secular and regular, were ordered to exhibit a minute statement of their property, and within six months to furnish a loan to the amount of one-sixth of its value at an interest of three per cent.

This edict increased the public discontent. The clergy openly accused Pius of violating the sacred canons, the bulls, and the oaths by which

he had bound himself on his accession to the pontifical throne. He had gone to Vienna, they observed, "for the express purpose of diverting Joseph II. from his intention of devoting a part of the church property to the necessities of his state; and now himself imitated the conduct of that philosophic prince." The pope could hardly appear in public without being hooted and hissed. Several cardinals were even insulted with abusive language, among others the cardinal Carandini, who fell sick of chagrin in consequence of it. The Roman purple was not accustomed to be treated with such irreverence. But it was principally against the cardinal nephew that the torrent of popular indignation was directed. His name, surrounded with disgraceful epithets, was displayed in all the inflammatory bills with which every wall in Rome was covered.

The fermentation now spread through all ranks and all ages. At this period was discovered a kind of conspiracy formed among the students, who were impatient of the yoke of their preceptors, and enamoured of the tricolor cockade. The elements of a revolution were collecting and combining; and it was foreseen that a single spark falling among this heap of combustible materials would produce a conflagration: but it did not yet appear probable that

it would be France who should set fire to it by hurling her thunder into the collected pile. Still smaller seemed the probability that a government which by its weakness was so deeply interested in preventing every crisis, should itself provoke that under which it sank in ruin. A feeble government, long known to be such, cannot with impunity make a display of force. The arrests, the proscriptions, instead of curing, exasperated the disease; and despotism, after a vain effort to inspire terror, was itself terrified in turn.

Under pretence of maintaining peace in the city, the regular troops and militia received orders to hold themselves in readiness for every event. The pope required that six men of the company which constituted his guard of honour should be posted every night in his ante-chamber, and the same number on the outside of the Vatican. The time was now no more when his guards were only employed for the decoration of his court! Without having ever indulged in any violent excesses, he saw himself, by vanity and improvidence and obstinacy, reduced to the painful condition of suspicious tyrants.

Amid this general subversion produced by the conflict of so many contending passions, it was almost impossible to advance a step in any direction without exciting murmurs. The individuals,

whether French or Romans, who were held in confinement, loudly complained of injustice and oppression: they maintained, that, since they suffered on account of the Gallic revolution, whoever was vested with any power by the French government was of course their natural protector; nor could they pardon either lukewarmness, tardiness, or even discussion, on the part of the political or military agents whose interposition they implored.

During these transactions, arrived at Rome, as minister plenipotentiary of the French republic, Joseph Buonaparte, brother to the general. Every eye was anxiously turned toward this new representative of France: every individual studied to interpret his most trifling words, his most insignificant actions: the devotees thought or affected to think that a French republican must necessarily be a man of repulsive demeanour, regardless of the customs of different countries, and especially void of religion. They were therefore agreeably surprised to find him conciliating, full of urbanity, and particularly to see him go to mass. His behaviour in the outset, his language, struck them as ominous of good; and the partisans of the Holy See began to imagine that it yet rested on solid foundations. The French republic, however, still had reason to be displeased with it on more than one ground —

It kept on foot a greater number of troops than it ought to have done after the conclusion of the peace :

Romans, foreigners, particularly Frenchmen, were persecuted through hatred of the Gallic revolution :

The pope seemed to feel a repugnance to the formation of any connexion with the Cis-Alpine republic :

French emigrants and refractory priests, even since the eighteenth of Fructidor in the fifth year of the republic (Sept. 4, 1797), flocked in crowds to Rome, and were there well received :

Finally, a new Austrian general, Provera, was come from Vienna to take the command of the papal troops.

The minister Buonaparte energetically explained himself on all these heads, and obtained some half-successes. The peace of Campo-Formio had recently been signed ; and the court of Rome could not now entertain any perfidious hope, any concealed plan lurking behind the veil of studied appearances.

Several of the persons detained in prison were set at liberty, and, among others, Angelucci and the two brothers of the name of Bouchard. After a short time, those three martyrs of liberty set out from Rome, as it were in triumph, and amid the acclamations of the multitude, to go

and present themselves to Buonaparte at Raftadt, and thank him for their deliverance, which was in great measure his work. The enthusiasm which they excited, especially at the moment of their departure, gave considerable umbrage to the friends of the papacy, who said that those excessive demonstrations of joy were " insults to the government."

In truth, the Roman government were in every point of view degraded. They had nobody to whom they could intrust the command of their petty army: they had not been able to retain Provera who had been sent to them by the court of Vienna; for Buonaparte had informed the pope, through the medium of his brother, that, unless that Austrian general quitted Rome within twenty-four hours, he would march into the Ecclesiastical State and recommence hostilities.

The cardinal Doria was commissioned to communicate to Provera the intentions of the French general, and accompanied the execution of that disagreeable task with all the forms which could tend to render it excusable. Provera only requested a respite of two days, which was granted to him. Previous to his departure, he waited on the pope, who received him with tears in his eyes, and assured him that nothing but

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Immediate Cause of the Downfall of the Roman Government.

WE now approach that epoch so decisive for the Holy See—the twenty-eighth of December 1797, from which day we may date its subversion.

Ten or fifteen days, however, previous to that period, there did not yet appear any of those symptoms that are usually precursive to a striking catastrophe. The discontent of the people was indeed strongly marked; and it arose from various motives—the dearth of provisions, the daily increasing depreciation of the *cedole*, and several edicts respecting money-matters, which alarmed the indigent class of the community: But it did not appear probable that these grievances should so soon have produced a universal insurrection, much less the overthrow of an ancient government to which the people were attached by numerous ties. There were in Rome many persons of different ranks who professed

the maxims of the French revolution : but they were not all equally respectable for their conduct ; and there were but a very small number whose influence could appear formidable to the Holy See. A little activity in the police would perhaps have proved sufficient to keep these in subjection for a long time : and nothing less than one of those great events which forcibly speak to the senses—such as the suicide of Lucretia, or the blood-stained garb of Cæsar—would have been requisite to produce a revolution so sudden, so complete, from elements apparently so weak.

The pontiff himself affected the most perfect security amid the weighty subjects of inquietude by which he was environed. He went every day to prayers at the Vatican, and afterward to take an airing a few miles out of Rome. Whatever anxiety he felt, solely regarded the result of his negotiation at Milan, whither he had sent on mission a cardinal who gave him little hope. The Cis-Alpine republic showed no disposition to conciliation : it kept provisional possession of the fort of Santo-Leone : it talked of withdrawing from the pawn-banks of Rome the sums which its citizens had lodged there while they remained under the Austrian dominion.

The priests, acting perfectly in character, continued to inflame the weak minds, to foster

in them an aversion to French principles, and to mourn over the calamities of the church: they ran from temple to temple, from street to street, preaching and predicting "the end of the world," and, according to the custom which has ever prevailed, calling in the aid of miracles to support their prophecies. They had not an idea that they were so near the end of their reign, which to them in fact was "the end of the world."

At this time there was in Rome a prophetess of another kind—a French woman named la Brouffe, who was with all sincerity a fanatic, or rather under the influence of sober madness. She foretold that the empire of the popes was drawing near to its end; that heaven was weary of it; and that she would not depart from Rome till she had seen that prediction accomplished. At any other time her extravagancies would have excited only laughter or pity; but at the present period they co-incided with much more alarming symptoms; and they did not fail to produce some sensation.

Such were the various dispositions of the inhabitants of Rome at the moment of the silently gathering and almost unperceived storm which broke forth on the twenty-eighth of December.

We live at too short a distance from that event to use the language of history in relating it.

The passions have on both sides disfigured its features ; nor would they, on either hand, pardon that impartiality which should fairly appreciate what was in great measure their work. A summary of facts, therefore, and a statement of their consequences, will be sufficient for the performance of the task which we have undertaken to fulfil.

It appears from the temperate report sent by the ambassador Buonaparte, on the eleventh of Nivose, to the minister of foreign relations, that neither he, nor the chevalier Azara whom his sagacity and long experience rendered so competent a judge of such matters, had conceived that a popular commotion, attempted five days before, bore any characteristic of a nature that could justly alarm the government ; and that, far from concurring in it, the French minister had marked it with his disapprobation. The papal soldiery, if directed by prudent orders or guided by well-intentioned chiefs, would have been sufficient to quell that disturbance without effusion of blood. But the insurgents having run to take refuge within the jurisdiction of the French ambassador's palace, which ought to have been for them not a place of head-quarters as they pretended, but an inviolable asylum, the armed force, equally vile as atrocious, had the audacity to pursue them into its precincts, and to convert that asylum into a

theatre of battle. Already the law of nations was most glaringly violated : and this first transgression, not having been prevented, not having been immediately atoned for, was sufficient very seriously to inculcate the Roman government ; but it was followed by a second crime which decided the ruin of the papacy.

Among those by whom the French ambassador was surrounded, and who co-operated with him in checking the effervescence of the insurgents and particularly the blind fury of the pontiff's satellites, was general Duphot, so honourably distinguished by his brilliant courage. He sprang toward that infuriate band who had already immolated so many unfortunate victims in the courts and the vestibule and even on the staircases of the French palace ; and that young hero, whom Hymen was preparing to unite within few days with the sister of general Buonaparte, fell, the victim of his generous devotion, under the repeated strokes of the base wretches whose rage he had hoped to appease.

The chevalier Angiolini, the Tuscan minister, had hardly received intelligence of this shocking transaction when he hastened to the minister of France to participate his dangers, and displayed in this critical moment equal prudence and courage. Animated by the same sentiments, the chevalier Azara consigned to oblivion every

subject of complaint which he had against the Holy See, and—solely desirous of serving it at the same time that he afforded to the French a new testimony of his affection, and to the city of Rome a fresh proof of his prudence and firmness—he flew to the Vatican.

The pope was sick: his secretary of state was wholly ignorant of what had happened at the French ambassador's palace; and, two hours after the event, the Roman government had not yet taken the slightest step in consequence of it. It was nevertheless by its orders that the detachment of cannibals had been sent against the insurgent crowd; and after having let them loose into that theatre of blood, it had not appointed any person to watch or direct or restrain them! Even if the Roman government had been guilty of no other crime than that inconceivable improvidence, could it possibly have escaped the resentment of the French republic?

After the scene of which the minister Buonaparte had been a witness—at the sight of the lifeless corse of his unfortunate compatriot who had been on the point of becoming his kinsman, and who, after having braved death in the field of glory, had received the fatal wound from the hands of an unbridled soldiery—he conceived that the dignity of his character, much more than the care of his personal safety,

forebade his longer stay in a place where the most sacred rights were violated, and certain impunity seemed to await the violation.

It would not be credited, if Joseph Buonaparte had not himself affirmed the fact, that fourteen hours were elapsed after the murder of general Duphot, before a single Roman presented himself to inquire into the state of affairs.

During that interval the French ambassador had written several letters to the secretary of state to acquaint him with his firm determination of quitting Rome, and to demand of him the necessary passports. The cardinal Doria vainly attempted to prevail on him to stay: the ambassador departed the next morning for Florence, whence he transmitted to the French directory a narrative of what had happened in Rome. He took charge of a dispatch from the cardinal to the marquis Maffimi, at that time the sovereign pontiff's minister in Paris. In that dispatch Doria deplored, in the name of the holy father and in his own, an event which it had, by his account, been impossible for them either to foresee or prevent. "You are to request of the directory," said he to the marquis, "that they will demand whatever satisfaction they think proper. To demand and to obtain it, will be the same thing: for neither his holiness nor I nor the court of Rome will ever be

“ easy in mind until certain that the directory is
 “ satisfied.”

It will naturally be asked how the pope and his secretary were employed during that scene which now called forth those expressions of their tardy repentance. Every circumstance proves that cardinal Doria, incapable of guiding the reins of government in difficult times, and equally incapable of any participation in a conspiracy of which he must have fallen one of the first victims, had made no preparation, and that, at the moment of the explosion, his reason was quite bewildered. As to the pope, the state of his health, if we may believe Doria's account, did not allow that he should even be informed of the affair before night. It appears therefore that neither the one nor the other was chargeable on this occasion with any thing more than very great improvidence. Accordingly, the ambassador Buonaparte, though fired with just resentment, did not inculpate either the pontiff or his minister: he even thought it his duty, at the moment of his departure, to give the secretary of state a last testimony of his personal esteem, and to assure him that he would retain “ the most cordial remembrance of the character and the conduct
 “ and the polite and friendly behaviour of the
 “ cardinal Doria, whose goodness of heart was
 “ not in its proper sphere among the irrecon-

“citable enemies of the French name who still
 “governed the court of Rome.”

Scarcely was Joseph Buonaparte gone from the city when the chevalier Azara was earnestly entreated in the pope's name to exert his efforts to recall him. The Spanish minister, whose interposition it was now somewhat too late to invoke, contented himself with answering that he was prohibited to take any further concern in the affairs of Rome. Besides, Joseph Buonaparte was very little disposed to yield to solicitations of that kind. He thus wrote on the subject to the rulers of the French republic—
 “This government does not swerve from its
 “usual character. Crafty and rash in com-
 “passing criminal deeds, base and groveling
 “after they have been committed, it now lies
 “prostrate at the feet of the minister Azara,
 “entreating him to come to me at Florence,
 “and bring me back to Rome.”

A government thus appreciated could not hope to obtain pardon; and vengeance closely followed the crime which it had at least suffered to be perpetrated.

In the infliction of that vengeance the Cis-Alpines took the lead. Scarcely were they informed of what had happened at Rome, when loud accents of indignation resounded in their political assemblies and in their private societies.

At Milan, on every side, were heard the cries of "Death to the assassin pontiff! Vengeance to our deliverers!" In the constitutional circle a levy of troops was recommended, for the purpose of making war on the pope: and while the Italian and French forces were already on their march toward his dominions, letters from Milan said—"Soon shall that Tiber which is stained with the blood of our brethren—that Capitol inhabited by assassin priests—that Field of Mars which blushes to be trodden by a nation of slaves—be purified from the accumulated crimes and ignominy and servitude of twenty centuries."

Meantime dismay and consternation had seized upon all those who stood in conspicuous stations in Rome. The government dispatched couriers in every direction, and strove to interest in its favour the courts of Florence, of Naples, and of Vienna. More suspicious and implacable than at any former period—now, at a time when its own feebleness and the impending danger should have enforced the practice of at least mildness and moderation, it multiplied the number of imprisonments; and, mingling religious mummery with political rigor, it suspended all theatrical entertainments, appointed a jubilee, and prayers, and sermons.

Recovered from its first stupor, it puts into

circulation a *most true and faithful* statement, in which it depicts the conduct of the French in the most odious colours. A Roman journalist carries still farther the audacity of unblushing impudence : he announces to the universe that the pope is preparing to " arm a hundred and " sixty thousand men, and to drive France back " within her ancient limits." He formally gives the lie to the editor of the Florence gazette : " What must," says he, " above every thing " else, excite the indignation of the public, is " the intolerable impudence with which some " people have endeavoured, by a heap of false- " hoods, to blacken the conduct of the pontifi- " cal government, on the occasion of an event " which the time and the circumstances and a " connected series of facts render so notorious as " to create an impossibility of its affording room " for either misconception or controversy. But " the world will see *who* has been the author " of the popular commotions, what means have " been employed, what schemes have been con- " certed, to realise the plan of producing a re- " volution among the people of Rome, ever " faithful to their God and to their sovereign. " A glance of the eye cast over Italy will be " sufficient to furnish a refutation of such ca- " lumnies, and to prove the moderation and " forbearance of the pontifical minister. It is

“only necessary to observe in what manner and
 “during how long a period that government
 “has, through the love of peace, exhibited to
 “Europe the spectacle of the most painful hu-
 “miliations, the greatest sacrifices, the most de-
 “plorable condition,” &c.

From the transactions that had preceded the murder of Duphot which was no more than the bloody catastrophe of a tedious drama, it becomes easy to appreciate this language, no less hypocritical than insolent.

General Berthier was directed to avenge the French republic. Arriving at Ancona on the twenty-fifth of January 1798, he immediately marched forward at the head of several columns of Gallic and Cis-Alpine troops. Retarded for a while by the snows of the Apennine, he advanced toward Rome, as if he were traversing the departments of the French republic.

Could he meet with any resistance? The pope was sunk into a state of weakness approaching to imbecillity: the rest of the Romans either were lethargised by the same stupor, or impatiently expected the arrival of the French. Some defensive measures were however adopted by the terrified members of the Roman government. The cardinals, who still preserved some remains of courage, held frequent congregations, and deliberated whether they ought to flee or await

the enemy. They still struggled to retain the reins of empire which were ready to escape from their enfeebled grasp. They sent commissioners into the Campagna di Roma and to the adjacent coast, where the people complained of the dearth of provisions and their bad quality.

In the interval of expectancy preceding the arrival of the French, a more animated contest was carried on between the mummeries of superstition and the efforts of patriotism. While the streets were paraded in every direction by processions, the walls were covered with satiric placards *. While the Madonnas shed tears in answer to the vows addressed to them, portraits of general Buonaparte were distributed among the people, with the inscription, " This is the " true likeness of the holy saviour of the world."

Berthier had caused his approach to be announced by a proclamation which had terrified the one party and inspirited the other. " A " French army," said he, " is now on its march " toward Rome. I declare that its only object " is to chastise the murderers of the brave Du- " phot, the same persons who have embroiled " their hands in the blood of the unfortunate " Bassville, and who have forgotten the respect

* Posting-bills.

“ which they owed to the ambassador of the
 “ French republic. The Roman people, who
 “ have had no participation in those deeds of
 “ horror, shall, in the French army, find pro-
 “ tectors and friends.”

Encouraged by these assurances, the people assembled in the *Campo-Vaccino*, under the auspices of some chiefs, such as Riganti, a lawyer distinguished by his talents, and by his resentment against Pius—the duke Bonelli, who had travelled much, and had brought back to Rome the ideas of liberty—a certain Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, nephew to the marquis Gallo, who had recently quitted the service of the emperor, and for some time, with undaunted zeal, professed revolutionary principles at Rome. In this assembly the Roman people proclaimed their independence on the twenty-seventh of Pluviose (February 15). Immediately the tree of liberty was planted in front of the Capitol, and in all the public squares.

General Berthier lay encamped at the gates of Rome. At noon he received a deputation from the Roman people, acquainting him with their revolution, and communicating to him the plan of a provisional government which they had adopted.

Soon after, preceded by martial music and all

the grenadiers of his army, and followed by his staff-officers and a hundred horsemen from each regiment of his cavalry, he proceeded directly to the Capitol, traversing the crowded throng of a countless multitude of people, among whom, however, if we may venture to believe the assertion of spectators worthy of credit, the number of those whom curiosity alone had attracted to the spot was much greater than that of the real lovers of liberty.

Arrived at the Capitol, general Berthier pronounced a harangue suited to the occasion—a harangue, whose Laconic energy entitles it to be transmitted to posterity—

“ Ye manes of the Catoes, of the Pompeys,
 “ of the Brutuses, of the Ciceroes, of the Hor-
 “ tensiuses ! receive the homage of free French-
 “ men in that Capitol where you so oft have de-
 “ fended the rights of the people, and shed lustre
 “ on the Roman republic.

“ Those descendents of the Gauls, with the
 “ olive of peace in their hands, come to this au-
 “ gust place, to re-edify in it the altars of liber-
 “ ty erected by the first of the Brutuses.

“ And you, Roman people, who have now
 “ recovered your legitimate rights!—recollect
 “ that blood which flows in your veins ! survey
 “ those monuments of glory by which you are

“surrounded! resume your pristine greatness,
“and the virtues of your progenitors *!”

A spectacle so novel, a harangue so worthy of those scenes which awaked the grandest recollections, might well be expected to electrify, and did in fact electrify, the soul of every individual present.

The ceremony concluded, general Berthier was re-conducted to his camp amid peals of acclamation still more spontaneous and more universal than those which had hailed him on his entrance into the city.

Some personages of eminence in Rome—the crafty cardinal della Sommaglia, at that time cardinal-vicar—Arrigoni, who was president of the *annona*—and the young prince Giustiniani, joined by the Neapolitan minister, Belmonte-Pignatelli—had been sent by the pope to the French general. They hoped to mollify him, to obtain of him terms of accommodation. Pius, or those who made use of his name †, had indulged the

* This last paragraph differs, in my original, from the concluding sentence given by Mr. Duppa in page 174 of his “Brief Account of the Subversion of the Papal Government.”—Without pretending to decide which is the genuine speech of Berthier, I have contented myself with faithfully translating my text.

† During this crisis, Pius concealed himself from every eye. He remained in the Vatican, surrounded by some injudicious and obscure counsellors whose names do not deserve

hope that, at the expense of a contribution of a few millions and the sacrifice of two provinces already infected with the revolutionary spirit, the Holy See might yet be able to redeem its safety. But the firmness of Berthier dissipated those illusions : he refused to admit a deputation from a government which had already ceased to exist, and declared that he would receive none except from the Roman people.

That people, in effect, had created a provisional government, and, reviving the highest dignity of ancient Rome, had elected seven consuls, among whom Riganti and Bonelli, the most conspicuous of their chiefs, were not forgotten.

to be rescued from oblivion. The deputies who were sent to Berthier did not see the pontiff either previous to their departure or after their return. Every command, every information, passed through the medium of cardinal Doria.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Consequences of the Entry of the French into Rome.

AS soon as the ancient government saw that its hopes had been disappointed, those who had taken the most active part in its operations, or who had recently been its most culpable agents, perceived the danger which threatened them. Several escaped from the peril by flight—such as the cardinals Albani and Busca—a certain captain Amadeo, who commanded the company that had fired upon Duphot—the corporal Marinelli, who had given him the first wound—a certain English banker, by name Jenkins. With respect to the cardinal Braschi, he was at Naples on a political mission in conjunction with monsignor Galeppi, and took good care not to return.

At this period, which immediately preceded the arrival of the French, Rome presented a spectacle truly curious to an attentive spectator. Here were seen priests bitterly inveighing against the emperor, and crying out on every side that he had deceived them: there the members of the ancient government, uncertain what distant

asylum they might hope to reach with impunity, concealed themselves in Rome itself. The bishops, not thinking themselves safe in the provinces of the state, came to take refuge in the capital. A great portion of the people remained quiet, and silently awaited their doom. In several quarters of the city, the indignation excited by the fanatic devotees secretly fermented, and broke out in knife-stabs even more frequent than usual. The miracle of the Madonna opening her eyes, which had been so ingeniously contrived by monsignor Galeppi, was more than once repeated, but now began to lose its effect and made fewer dupes.

And how was the pope employed meanwhile? His holiness sometimes gave way to the transports of grief: but much oftener, motionless and pensively silent, he astonished those around him by his apparent serenity. Was it philosophy? was it resignation to the will of heaven? or was it a mere apathy resulting from the enfeebled state of his organs? The question was not decided at the time, and will perhaps remain for ever undecided.

General Berthier having come to take up his residence in Rome, assumed in fact the reins of the government, which as yet had only nominal chiefs.

His first step was to cause a funeral ceremony

to be celebrated in honour of the manes of the unfortunate Duphot. A mausoleum was erected to the deceased chief in the piazza of the Vatican; and that monument, surrounded with cypress-trees and illumined by funereal torches, was decorated with Latin inscriptions commemorating his warlike talents, his patriotic devotion, and his tragic fall. The urn which inclosed his ashes was placed on an antique column erected in the area of the Capitol.

Not content with these last honours, his manes expected the additional gratification of vengeance. Several of the most active agents of the court of Rome, which in these latter times had rendered itself so odious, were arrested—among others, the prelate Grivelli, governor of Rome, a pacific and moderate man, but who was made responsible for those disorders which he had not been able to prevent—the Benedictine Altieri, nephew to the cardinal of that name, and the blindly-devoted tool of the cardinal Albani, that is to say, of the most implacable enemy to the French. Particular severity was exercised against the *fiscal* Barberi, deservedly hated on account of the influence he had acquired, and of the persecutions by which he had harassed all the inhabitants of Rome—whether natives or foreigners, and especially Frenchmen

—who appeared to him in the slightest degree to merit the obnoxious title of *patriots*: not, however, that he was naturally ill-disposed; for even his enemies, while they condemned the severity of his character, did justice to its integrity. All his exceptionable actions arose from his prejudices and his ignorance: exclusively versed in criminal jurisprudence, he was unacquainted either with political affairs or with mankind. He was imprisoned and banished. He would have experienced more rigorous treatment, if the chevalier Azara, who nevertheless had reason to be dissatisfied with him, had not interceded in his favour.

One of Berthier's first operations was to suppress the odious prerogative of the right of asylum enjoyed by churches and other privileged places, and to banish all French emigrants from the territories of the Roman republic.

The greatest difficulty was the task of composing in a suitable manner the new government of the Roman republic. To accomplish that object, general Berthier adopted in the first instance the most prudent expedient. He consulted the chevalier Azara, who, in addition to uncommon sagacity, possessed a perfect knowledge of the local circumstances: but the Spanish minister had many motives for wishing to

decline so delicate a business; nor did he consent to take a part in it until urged by the reiterated solicitations of the French commissioners. He proposed then a sort of mixed government in which all the classes of Rome might have participated: he furnished a list composed of three cardinals, two princes, two of the most celebrated lawyers, some bankers, and some agricultors. It was adopted; but its duration had not extended beyond the space of a few days, when a multitude of patriots, more zealous than enlightened, crowded round the French commissioners, and obliged them to make a new choice. Under the title of consulate, a directory was created, consisting of six members, inclusive of the president. The lawyer Riganti was the person who filled the presidential chair in this first consulate, which had for its secretary-general a Frenchman distinguished by his talents and his patriotic zeal, citizen Bassal, antecedently a constitutional *curé* at Versailles, and afterward a member of the national convention.

This government, however, was yet only provisional: previous to its definitive organisation, it was thought necessary to wait the arrival of three new French commissioners, who had been chosen with particular care by the direc-

tory, and furnished with all the information that such a mission required.

From the very day of general Berthier's entry into Rome the ancient government may date the epoch of its overthrow. It nevertheless struggled for some days in the arms of death. Such of the cardinals as had not already fled from the city on the wings of terror, were assembled in council, and seemed disposed still to uphold the authority of the pontiff. They were preparing to celebrate the anniversary of his coronation: but how poignant their grief when they witnessed the march of the Roman and French patriots who were proceeding to plant, with the most solemn pomp, the tree of liberty before the statue of Marcus Aurelius! A heart-felt conviction told them that their last hour was arrived: the Gallic army were the real sovereigns of Rome, and could admit no partition of authority; nor did there any longer remain to the Sacred College even the resource of a capitulation. Humbled, disarmed, destitute of support and of friends, they saw themselves compelled to surrender at discretion.

Behold them now in the deepest affliction marching to the Vatican, the centre of their fallen empire. With mournful eye they survey those vestibules, those halls, which they had

never been wont to traverse ungreeted by the homage of a bowing throng. Those cardinals, so elate with their dignity, find themselves suddenly denuded of all those brilliant externals which heretofore intoxicated their pride. They accompany with their profound but smothered sighs these words of the scripture, which hitherto they had had on their lips alone, and of which they now too late feel the truth—" *Vanitas vanitatum, et omnia vanitas* *." The glory, the influence, the power, the splendor, with which they dazzled the vulgar and were themselves dazzled—all is eclipsed. Those rivals of sceptred monarchs will henceforward deem themselves thrice happy to be mingled and lost in the crowd of the meanest individuals, and to convert their obscurity into a shield to screen them from the animosity of those who triumph in their humiliation. With melancholy voice they pronounce their "absolute renunciation of the temporal government."

But they have not yet reached the period of their calamities. At first they are quietly enough permitted to attend to the sale of their effects, previous to their departure from a city where they no longer have any thing to expect but mortifications and persecutions. But soon the

* Vanity of vanities, and all is vanity.

storm gathers around them: the new government is organised, and successively obliterates every vestige of the ancient, especially every trace of fanaticism. The cardinalitial dignity, even the presence of the cardinals in Rome, was deemed incompatible with the new order of things. The moment of extreme rigor was now arrived: none of the cardinals were spared, except those whose great age or infirmities claimed some lenity. Two of their number in particular—Albani and Busca—had no room to expect any favour. They had been the most active instruments in the last deeds of perfidy committed by the court of Rome; and they had both hastily fled to shelter themselves in a place of safety. Their property was confiscated: the statues and other precious effects contained in the famous Villa Albani were exposed to sale, as was likewise every thing that Busca possessed at Santa Agatha de' Monti.

Several others, who seemed to have less reason to be alarmed, had also adopted the resolution of fleeing before the persecution which their anticipative fears apprehended. Some of them, however, would have had claims to indulgence, since they had not forfeited their title to esteem. Such were Archetti, who had not derogated from the character of prudent moderation which he had gained by his missions in the North

—Antici, who had had sufficient foresight to dissuade from every measure tending to alienate France—Altieri, peaceable and destitute of influence:—such in particular was the cardinal Caprara. This prelate, after having been nuncio at Vienna, had, contrary to the pontiff's wishes, obtained the Roman purple on the emperor's nomination. Pius, who was extremely susceptible of disadvantageous impressions, had never pardoned him that triumph. Caprara nevertheless was a member of that numerous congregation who during the grand crisis directed the public and military operations; and he constantly opposed the unwise measures approved by the majority. He possessed judgment, sagacity, as great a share of probity as an Italian cardinal *could* possess, and several of the other qualities which constitute the statesman. France had no personal grudge against him: yet he thought it improper for him to remain at Rome, and retired to Bologna, his native place, where his family were held in high estimation. Pignatelli and Archinto fled for safety, the one to Naples, the other to Tuscany. Gerdyl, perhaps the only individual among the cardinals who had, together with the faith, retained also the love of poverty and the simple manners, of the primitive church—Gerdyl, after having abdicated the Roman purple, went to seek an

asylum at the court of the Sardinian monarch, whose youth he had trained by his instructions. Renuccini witnessed the confiscation of his house and all his property.—Altieri and Rezzonico were confined to their habitations by severe illness.—Valenti lay at the point of death.

Almost all the other members of the Sacred College experienced treatment which several of them at least had not reason to expect. We will particularly quote the instance of the cardinal Doria. General Cervoni, governor of Rome, who lived with the cardinal, had counselled him to make his escape, because, as he informed him, all the cardinals who were found in the city would be arrested. "I will not flee," replied Doria: "I have nothing to reproach myself with: I will participate the doom of my colleagues." Accordingly he was arrested as well as they and several prelates and some Roman nobles.

The cardinals were in the first instance conducted to the convent of the *Convertite* at Rome. Beside Doria whom his generous devotion had not saved, their number consisted of Antonelli, one of the most enlightened, yet one of the most fanatic—the cardinal-vicar della Sommaglia whose intentions were at least liable to suspicion—Borgia, distinguished by his talents and his taste for the sciences, and who might have been

spared without any inconvenience—Roverella, still less dangerous than Borgia—Carandini, prefect of the *Buon-Governo*, who by his tyrannic administration had acquired a stronger title to the hatred even of the Romans themselves than of their emancipators—Vincenti, very inimical to France, but whom his fears had at an early period rendered extremely circumspect, and now rendered equally supple in adversity, &c.—Archetti had, somewhat too late, attempted to escape: but he was overtaken in his flight, and conducted back to Rome under the escort of a piquet of cavalry.

Mattei had deceived the hopes derived from his conversion effected by general Buonaparte. The negotiator of Tolentino was no longer the conciliating mediator who had saved the Holy See, and who had been pardoned some transgressions in consideration of the pious and honest simplicity of his manners. His ardent zeal had blazed forth afresh at the sight of those calamities which were pouring upon the Roman church. He considered as incompatible with orthodoxy the civic oath which the citizens of the Roman republic were obliged to take: he endeavoured, by his preaching, to dissuade his diocesans from the commission of that impious act: he was arrested, sent into banishment, and his property was confiscated. He retired to the

country beyond the Po, which lay within the boundaries of his diocese of Ferrara. And the famous cardinal Maury—what will become of him amid this storm of persecution which might have been expected to reach him among the first? He had the dexterity to shelter himself from its fury. Concealed, during the grand crisis, in his diocese of Montefiascone,—as soon as he thought the tempest overblown, he takes in open day the road to Florence; and his daring audacity is crowned with success. At the distance of few leagues from Rome he stopped to change horses at the very moment when the three new French commissioners had arrived—the citizens Daunou, Monge, and Florent. He was recognised: but it remains uncertain whether he himself was aware of the recognition: at least his imperturbable features were not seen to undergo any alteration. One of the commissioners walks round his carriage, views him, and, fully convinced of the identity of his person, can hardly refrain from giving vent to his detestation of one of the bitterest enemies of the French revolution. He regrets that he has not with him an armed force to execute instantaneous justice on his eminence in a territory where the inviolability of the cardinalian character is now no more than a chimæra. He deliberates: but the horses are put to—both carriages are in

readiness—and they set off in different directions. Thus Maury escaped an imminent danger, of which he did not even seem to entertain a suspicion, but of which he may perhaps be apprised by the perusal of these lines.

Let us however acknowledge a fact which the strongest prejudice cannot deny; and let us, in this one instance, anticipate the severe language of history. All the cardinals, guilty or innocent, were promiscuously involved in the same indiscriminate proscription by a blind animosity by no means congenial to the intentions of the French government or those of its principal agents. The majority of those princes of the church were objects of odium, or at least of contempt and ridicule: but means were now found to render them interesting. With very few exceptions, all those who securely awaited the arrival of the French were the victims of avarice rather than of hatred. The chief crime for which they were compelled to make atonement was their opulence, real or supposed; and if the cardinal Gerdy, for instance, was spared, it was only because the simple and modest life which he led in almost absolute indigence, had sufficiently notified to the world his inability to pay the price of his ransom.

The greater number of those who had been

confined in the convent of the *Convertite* at Rome were soon afterward transferred to Città-Vecchia. Already mention was made of transporting them to some remote island; but they soon learned by what means they might obtain their pardon. A few of their number with considerable firmness opposed that species of persecution, for which they were not prepared; all the others deemed themselves supremely happy in the opportunity of purchasing their liberty by great sacrifices. Several, as Altieri and Vincenti, were seen to renounce the Roman purple, late so envied, now suddenly become so dangerous; others, to request as a favour that they might be designated by the title of "*citizen*" in the passports which were granted to them for their exit from the territories of the Ecclesiastical State.

After having, the greater part of them, suffered insult, imprisonment, spoliation, they hastened to seek, at a distance from Rome, some asylum where they might enjoy the only blessing to which they now aspired—tranquillity. Some took refuge at Florence, others at Milan, at Bologna, at Naples, and in the states of Venice. Hardly was the new government formed, when there no longer existed a trace of the ancient, no longer a cardinal to be seen in Rome except

Some individuals of that rank who were detained by their great age or their infirmities*.

With respect to the individuals of the great families of Rome who did not belong to the sacerdotal body, they submitted with a tolerable share of resignation to that catastrophe which reduced them to a level with the crowd of citizens. They were not enemies whom it could be difficult to subdue: their education, the effeminate life they had dozed away in the lap of opulence and beyond the reach of dangers and alarms, had not prepared their souls for the exertions of that energy which could have rendered them formidable opponents and worthy objects of persecution. On the arrival of the French, several of them were heard to say with humble frankness, "We have been accustomed to obey: to whom our obedience shall be paid, is of little consequence to us; provided we be allowed to retain our property and our lives." Accordingly they were almost universally spared; their houses, their furniture, their villas, every thing belonging to them, remained inviolate;

* Certain phrenetics, who are unsusceptive of any other sentiment than hatred, will perhaps bestow on us their reproaches for having expressed our commiseration of the cardinals. To such censurs we give this brief reply—Even cardinals are men as well as we, and, when they are unfortunate, have claims to our sympathy. We know none who are unworthy of pity, except those who have never felt it.

nor did they suffer any other loss than that of their titles and dignities. Some of their number even espoused the Roman revolution with every appearance of cordial attachment. Such, in particular, was the prince Borghese, one of the richest individuals in Rome, and who was elected a member of the senate: such also was the young prince Giustiniani, who is now at Paris as representative of the new republic, and who has disarmed malevolence by the temperate prudence of his conduct and the gentleness of his manners.

Those few against whom severity was exercised, had deserved that treatment by engaging in plots which the circumstances of the times rendered unjustifiable. The duchess of Lante, having been convicted of carrying on a counter-revolutionary correspondence, was for some time detained in confinement. The marquis del Monte-Santa-Maria, by taking part in one of those insurrections which broke out in various quarters of the Ecclesiastical State—that of Città di Castellano—excited the rage of the patriots; and his country-seat was demolished. The expenses of the war, together with those of the new administration, rendered necessary the imposition of extraordinary taxes; and their weight fell, as might naturally have been expected, on the most opulent families of Rome.

CHAPTER XXX.

Fate of Pius and of his Nephews.

AS to the pope and his family, amid this general subversion, their fate was the more deplorable as they fell from a more exalted station. The sympathy which they might have excited was considerably diminished by the recollection of their excesses, or at least of their errors. But there are certain bounds to resentment even in those bosoms which have been the most deeply wounded, even in hearts of the most rancorous mould. The pontiff's two nephews sank in one day from opulence to beggary. The cardinal Braschi, less greedy than his brother, derived the principal part of his fortune from the rich benefices that his uncle had accumulated on him. In consequence of the proscription, those benefices were speedily vacated, and he had reason to envy the scanty pittance of a village priest. With regard to the duke his brother, the voice of exaggeration has not perhaps swelled the amount of his extortions, or breathed additional infamy on the disgraceful means which he had

employed to enrich himself: but his territorial possessions, at least, had certainly been over-rated. His movable property was immense: his luxury of every kind equalled that of a little sovereign: but we think ourselves justified in asserting, that, in landed estates, he never possessed above forty thousand Roman crowns of annual income. Within a few days after the revolution in Rome, nought remained to him but the ribbons and crosses with which he had suffered himself to be accoutred by various sovereigns of Europe; and he even thought himself thrice happy to find a temporary shelter in Tuscany from the persecutions by which he was forced to atone for his avidity, and for the scandalous use which he had made of his power. His pictures, his prints, his antiques, all the treasures of his museum, his rich furniture, every thing of his that could be found, was confiscated and exposed to sale. His lands, particularly those which he had acquired in the Pontine marshes, were treated as the acquisitions of victory, and sold for the benefit of the conquering army.

His wife, known by the title of the duchess of Nemi, was less harshly treated than he. At first, however, she was the object of peculiar severity: she was arrested and thrown into confinement; being considered as a person whom it was indispensably necessary to secure. But this

was a mistaken idea: she was therefore soon restored to liberty, and even permitted to bring forward her claims. The French commissioners found her resigned, suppliant, and hardly seeming to recollect that she had lately been the first lady in Rome. She began by demanding of them sixty thousand crowns which she said she had brought as her marriage-portion: the sum was reduced to thirty thousand. She then claimed for her daughter a movable property to the amount of about thirty thousand crowns: on this score she was allowed ten thousand. What she was suffered to retain of her personal property may be valued at an equal sum. She kept the jewels, the diamonds, with which she was abundantly provided. Of twenty carriages which she had owned, she was permitted to choose two of the most elegant. She was indulged with the privilege of realising in national property the thirty thousand crowns granted to her—an indulgence which enabled her to retain a part of the beautiful estate she possessed at Tivoli. After the completion of these economic arrangements, which were more favourable to her than she could have reasonably expected, she requested leave to retire to Fermo in the marquisate of Ancona, whither she was invited by the man—not her husband—who was to console her for so many misfortunes. To this request

she received a refusal; not that there existed a wish to thwart her in the indulgence of that inclination which certainly was not her first essay: but the commissioners did her the very gratuitous honour of supposing that it was important that she should not remove from the vicinity of Rome. She obtained permission to retire to Tivoli, where she has since lived sufficiently free from molestation.

It remains for us to speak of the chief of that family, which, by a series of imprudent acts, suddenly fell from the pinnacle of greatness to the depths of the most deplorable humiliation. Pius, who, by his own obstinacy and the evil counsels to which he had given ear, had prepared the way for the overthrow of the Roman government, remained almost entirely ignorant of the catastrophe which completed that event. He was yet overwhelmed with the consternation caused by the entry of the avengers of Duphot, when he learned that the cardinals had abdicated their temporal authority: he saw general Cervoni enter, who at this time held the chief command in Rome; he came to announce to the pontiff that the people had thought proper to resume their sovereignty.—“And my dignity!” exclaimed his holiness in the accent of profound grief.—“It is too intimately connected with religion, which the people are determined

“ to preserve inviolate. They have so expressed
 “ their resolution in the solemn act which has
 “ been proclaimed in their name; and they
 “ promise to make for you a provision suitable
 “ to your rank.”—“ And my person !” continued
 Pius.—“ It is in perfect safety; and they en-
 “ gage to furnish a guard of a hundred and
 “ twenty men for its protection.”—Pius was
 silent, and assumed an air of resignation.

But the hopes which this beginning had encouraged him to conceive were soon disappointed. Notwithstanding the wish so formally and solemnly announced by the people of Rome in favour of liberty, that capital harboured a considerable number of mal-contented—of sincere fanatics, who considered the fall of the papal throne in no other light than as the downfall of religion—many hypocrites who from motives of vanity and ambition were interested in supporting the ancient order of things. Under these circumstances, the presence of the pope might give birth to conspiracies. Though he had, while vested with sovereignty, been viewed with the eyes of hatred or at least of indifference, his misfortunes had now rendered him an object of sympathetic interest. The French commissioners thought it indispensable to the public safety that he should be removed from Rome, and even from the Ecclesiastical State. He was conducted

to Tuscany, not at the request of the grand-duke, but with his consent, which that prince would have been very glad to have the liberty of refusing. He was sensible that the presence of such a guest might become troublesome, and even dangerous. Pius was at first conducted to Sienna.

Here he lived in peace, and forgotten by almost every one except the devotees and some curious persons, when an earthquake shook the place which he had chosen for his retreat, and threw down several buildings. Pius lodged in the convent of Saint Barbara; but, at the moment when the shock was felt, he happened to be walking in one of the public gardens of the city. He was hastily conveyed from within the walls of Sienna, to a country-house called by the name of *Hell*; which circumstance gave rise to the sarcasms of the undevout who had not felt compassion for his misfortune. After some time he was conducted to Florence. At the moment of his entering this city, the sky, which is usually so serene in Tuscany, was overcast with heavy clouds, and the rain fell in torrents. Malignity, which is so prompt, especially in Italy, to seize every opportunity of exercising itself, did not fail to observe that the pope brought bad weather with him wherever he came.

His first interview with the grand-duke, which

took place in presence of the marquis Manfredi, was on both sides accompanied by marks of melting tenderness. The grand-duke in particular was moved even to the shedding of tears: but he was not insensible of the inconvenience which might result to him from keeping the pope in his capital. In a few days after his arrival, Pius was conducted to a Carthusian monastery, at the distance of two miles from Florence.

The fallen pontiff did not appear so deeply affected by his situation as might have been supposed: his health, far from being impaired by a catastrophe which would have caused any other person in like circumstances to die with grief, seemed to be in a more flourishing state. His relish for the pleasures of the table accompanied him to his solitude: and, on that subject, the following anecdote is related by credible witnesses—On his arrival at the Carthusian convent, his holiness, who, among the small suite of servants by whom he was accompanied, had not forgotten his cook, gave him permission to take his station in the conventual kitchen, and there ordered him to prepare for his table delicate viands which formed a striking contrast with the frugal fare of the monks. The latter, mortified no doubt by the comparison, pretended to be scandalised at the holy father's sensuality, and

pronounced it to be the source of those calamities which desolated the church. The cook warmly defended the cause of his useful profession, and, in revenge of the ill-humour shown by those recluses, slipped, unknown to them, a bit of meat into their peas-soup*. This horrible plot being discovered, the monks utter shrieks of indignation, which reach the ears of his holiness. Pius fancies he still hears the revolutionary storm growl around him: he inquires what cause has excited it: to avoid the repetition of such a scene, he orders that his kitchen be henceforward separate from that of the monks; and they congratulate themselves on no longer having before their eyes the scandalous exhibition of the sovereign pontiff's epicurism.

Vanity, as another anecdote proves—and that particular species of it which was the least excusable in a pontiff and an old man—the vanity which is connected with external accomplishments—did not abandon Pius in his retreat. There lived at Florence a young Hungarian painter who was desirous of the honour of draw-

* The Carthusians, observing a perpetual Lent, never eat flesh-meat: and, according to the notions of their church, the smallest particle of flesh, or the smallest drop of its juice, mingled with any quantity of fasting-fare, is sufficient to contaminate the whole mass so completely that whoever tastes of it is guilty of the no small crime of violating the fast!

ing his holiness's portrait, with the intention, as he said, of presenting it to the empress. He was conducted to the holy father, who accepted his offer with a sort of enthusiasm. "Let your pencil," said he to the young artist, "revive that bloom and animated complexion which is somewhat faded through age and chagrin: paint me in scarlet robes, to give the greater relief to my features." The painter is said to have paid docile obedience to the directions of the pontiff's vanity; and Pius, even in the season of disgrace, still found a *flatterer*. It is asserted that his eyes dwelt with pleasure on that portrait, which, some years before, would have been a very good likeness, and which, by an innocent deception, carried him back to a less advanced age, and to happier days.

These anecdotes will to many people afford sufficient ground for dispensing with that pity which they might otherwise be inclined to bestow on him. Can we consider him as an object of compassion, when we see him so resigned, so contented, still so well disposed to relish the only indulgences that have been left within his reach?

It is moreover asserted, that, instead of repining at his fate, he has several times protested that he had renounced all hope of ever revisiting Rome, and that his utmost wish was to conclude

his days in peace in the Carthusian monastery: He enjoys there likewise some other consolations: he is not forgotten by all mankind in his obscure retreat: he has there received magnificent presents from all quarters. One day he saw ten purses brought in to him; each containing five hundred crowns. The donator chose to keep his name secret: all that is known is that he was a Florentine. The present was accompanied by a note containing these words, "To provide ten shirts for his holiness." Another Florentine caused a sedan-chair to be constructed for him, richly gilt, decorated with all the symbols of the church, and displaying in front a silver plate inscribed with these words, which their author considered as prophetic, "*Post fata re-surgo.*" Many prelates, and almost all the chiefs of the catholic church, have made him considerable offers which he has had the generosity to decline. But he accepts without scruple the favours tendered by sovereign princes. He receives a monthly pension of three thousand crowns from a neighbouring court: the king of Spain continues faithfully observant of his former custom of annually sending to him an abundant provision of drugs, wines, and tobacco: he has also given him testimonies of affectionate regard which Pius has much more sensibly felt; for that monarch has not only directed the cardinal Lo-

renzana to continue to reside near the pontiff, but has also sent him a dispatch in which he assures him that he has not ceased to consider and to respect Pius VI. as "head of the catholic church."

The serenity which Pius enjoys in his retreat has nevertheless been clouded by a transaction which indeed was well calculated to awake whatever small spark of sensibility he yet retains. That nephew, dear to his vanity still more than to his affection—that nephew, who was the object and the principal accomplice of those faults for which Pius is now forced to atone—was among the foremost in fleeing from Rome. He had come to his uncle, and seemed to take a delight in administering to him some consolations. But the grand-duke did not think he could with propriety tolerate him in his dominions. Braschi, when preparing for his departure from Tuscany, took the liberty of repairing a part of his losses by carrying off from the holy father a considerable sum of money which the pious munificence of the faithful had destined for the supreme head of the church; and not for the prince of the Pontine marshes. Pius, fired with indignation at such treatment from a cherished nephew, resumed a momentary energy to lavish on him, instead of affectionate adieux, his paternal impre-

cations. The reign of nepotism could not have terminated in a more scandalous catastrophe.

Not alone did earthquakes and ingratitude disturb Pius's repose in the different retreats to which he had been consigned. The policy of the French government also gave him more than one cause of disquietude. It was not that he conducted himself in the Carthusian monastery at Florence in such manner as to awake suspicion: there existed no reason to apprehend that those persons whom he had been permitted to take with him at his departure from Rome, would become the instruments of intrigue or fanaticism: they were a chamberlain, some of his gentlemen, some prelates, a physician—men as little formidable on the score of talents as of influence. The pope himself led and still continues to lead a uniform, peaceable, and sequestered life: he retires to rest at an early hour: he rises very late, and passes the remainder of the day in eating, drinking, writing, or dictating to his secretary. His intellects are enfeebled by age even more than by chagrin.

At Sienna he had a kind of ecclesiastic court, and was surrounded by a certain pomp: the faithful still flocked to his presence, and courted the honour of his benedictions. But, since his removal to the Carthusian monastery, his circle

has been very circumscribed. He wisely avoids making himself too accessible, and admits the visits only of some devotees or persons attracted to him by curiosity. The Tuscan government, which is deeply interested in watching him to avoid giving any cause of complaint to France, is extremely careful that he maintain no relation of a suspicious nature.

It had proposed to the minister of the French republic that he should name all the persons who were to compose his holiness's household, and should have the inspection of his private conduct. It would have been a circumstance unparalleled in the annals of the Roman church to see her sovereign pontiff under the tutelage of a *heretic*; for our minister at Florence was born a member of the protestant communion. Citizen Reinhart declined that delicate charge: but he is nevertheless equally well apprised of every thing that passes within the Carthusian monastery at Florence.

Notwithstanding all these motives of security, some jealousy has been excited by Pius's residence in the heart of Italy. Apprehensions have been entertained, that, by still continuing so near to those whom he had so long dazzled by the splendor of his dignity, he might, perhaps contrary to his own wishes, awaken their regret, and furnish the ground of some conspiracy. In the

month of Thermidor of the sixth year of the republic *, the French government urged the grand-duke of Tuscany to send him out of his dominions. To our demands the grand-duke replied, " I did not wish for the pope: it was " the French commissioners who sent him to me. " I would be glad that he were at a distance " from Tuscany: but you will not insist on my " expelling him. If you desire that he quit the " country, every thing shall be made ready for " his departure—carriage, inns, ship: but it " rests with France to take the charge of conveying him elsewhere." The directory insisted, and caused the following message to be delivered to the grand-duke—" Send him out " of Tuscany, or we will hold you responsible " for the disturbances which his proximity excites and may yet further excite in Rome."

In consequence of these re-iterated urgencies the court of Tuscany concerted with the cabinet of Vienna to provide a retreat for his holiness in the hereditary states of the house of Austria; and that was the object of the marquis Manfredini's journey to Vienna. Already it was determined that Pius should be conveyed to the convent of Mœlk near the Danube, when the affair of the ambassador Bernadotte at Vienna induced an

* Between July 19 and August 18, 1798.

alteration of the plan. It was then proposed to send the pontiff to Spain: but, Charles not consenting to admit him into his kingdom except on conditions which appeared inadmissible, it was next resolved that he should embark for the isle of Sardinia. At this period, his health appearing too much impaired to leave him sufficient strength for a long voyage—his intellects being weakened to such a degree that his reason might have been thought alienated—and all fear being now vanished of those dangers which might arise from his residence in Italy—fewer inconveniences seemed to attend the measure of suffering him to vegetate in the Carthusian monastery near Florence: and it is probable that he will there terminate his existence.

Still stronger is the probability that his temporal reign is at an end. His pontificate—that is to say, his spiritual authority—may yet subsist in the estimation of those who think that the catholic church cannot dispense with a head, nor Jesus Christ with a vicerent: but, divested of all those external accessories which at once gave it lustre and rendered it dangerous, it may be prolonged for the consolation of the faithful, without disturbing the tranquillity of Europe, and especially that of Italy.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Principal Reforms effected in the Roman State by the new Government.

AT length we have reached the period of our career. The pope may yet exist for the comfort of some millions of pious souls: but the Roman government, of which he was the head, is irretrievably overturned, and its disjointed wreck lies scattered in different directions. On the site which it once occupied, a new government has been reared. Although its organisation does not make a part of our subject, at least our duty requires that we point out the most material innovations which it produced in what was termed the Ecclesiastical State, and especially in its capital.

It may naturally be concluded, that, immediately after the arrival of the French in Rome, the greater part of those establishments which were linked with the Roman church vanished from sight, and almost all those that constituted a part of the pope's temporal government. The

principal edifices received a new destination. In the palace on Mount-Quirinal, known also by the name of Monte-Cavallo, where the Roman pontiff was wont to spend a portion of the year, the directory took their station, and established their offices and all their dependencies: and, although that palace is spaciouſly ample, the directory united with it, for their uſe, the edifice of the *Consulta*.

The Vatican, ſo long revered as the ſanctuary whence iſſued thoſe ſpiritual thunders which ſo oft have ſhaken Europe—the Vatican, where, to the diſgrace of Chriſtian humility, pontifical luxury was diſplayed amid ſurrounding maſterpieces of the arts, and rich collections of books, manuſcripts, and all thoſe productions of genius which reflect honour on the human race—the Vatican, on ceaſing to be the reſidence of a doubly deſpotic ſovereign, was excluſively devoted to the ſciences. There was eſtabliſhed the new national inſtitute, and there were lodged all its members, notwithstanding the averſion they had teſtified to that part of Rome, which prejudice had repreſented as inſalubrious.

It may well be imagined that the *propaganda*, the Holy Office, and all the monuments of intolerant fanaticiſm, have for ever vaniſhed, as likewiſe every thing not eſſentially connected with the catholic church. Of thoſe various in-

stitutions which disgraced religion at the same time that they enriched its ministers, a single one has survived the universal reform: that is the office of the *datario*, which owes its preservation to motives of policy. The reformers felt that they could not abolish it without materially injuring the prosperity of regenerate Rome, of whose resources a considerable portion was cut off by the revolution, inasmuch as it has for a time banished from her walls those foreigners who came to admire and study the master-productions of the arts, and for ever all those who came to beg or purchase favours from the papal court.

The *datario* annually poured into that capital of popery a supply of about three millions of livres—a sum which could not, without serious inconveniences, be withdrawn from a population of a hundred and sixty thousand souls, nearly destitute of all the aids of industry. Besides, it was much less the patrimony of the priests than of a multitude of secretaries and clerks and others who would, by its abolition, have suddenly found themselves deprived of all means of subsistence. In particular, it was the sole dependence of a great number of private individuals, who enjoyed, under the name of *vacabili*, annuities secured by mortgage of the produce of the *datario*. That institution

has therefore been suffered to subsist, with only an alteration in its form. The minister of the court of Madrid, previous to his departure from Rome, concurred with the new government in organising a new establishment, whence the bulls for benefices are, in the name of the absent pontiff, issued to the subjects of Spain in nearly similar manner as heretofore. The other potentates who, for the same object, still maintain relations with the Holy See, have likewise made particular arrangements on that head.

Another institution has been annihilated, which was at once interwoven with both the temporal and the spiritual powers, and was incompatible with the new form of government: we mean the functions of the cardinal-vicar.

That officer was not only the pope's vicar-general as bishop of Rome, but also a judge invested with temporal authority, and possessing a jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, which equally extended to the laity as to the clergy. With him lay the direction of the police, and the superintendence of the moral conduct of the citizens. In the exercise of these powers which are liable to so many abuses, he had for his secret agents a horde of spies who frequently hurried him to arbitrary excesses, by blasting, on the slightest suspicion, the honour of married women, and sometimes that of their husbands.

The twenty-eight parish-priests of Rome aided him in his functions: they insinuated themselves into families: they pryed into their domestic secrets; and their troublesome vigilance had a stronger tendency to excite scandal than to repress disorder. This species of inquisition ceased on the arrival of the French; and in its stead was substituted a police organised on the republican system.

As to the purely ecclesiastic functions of the pope, those prejudices which the reformers wished to respect would not suffer them to be suspended. They were committed to a prelate whose existence was hardly suspected—the person who, under the title of *vice-gerent*, governed the diocese of Rome properly so called. He has continued to officiate pontifically and with all the former pomp. He began his career by abolishing a great number of festivals: and, although his jurisdiction be confined within the limits of his own bishopric, he extended that abolition to every other diocese in the Roman republic. The French commissioners, far from opposing this kind of usurpation, were glad to see an ecclesiastic authority, legal or not, reform an abuse which the temporal power could not perhaps have attacked with equal success.

The metropolitan church of the catholic world, the church of Saint Peter at Rome, has

lost nothing of its former splendor by the change of the government. The illumination of its dome has been several times repeated; and it has even been made to display that spectacle, of such magic effect, known by the appellation of the "*luminous cross*." The reformers did not choose to deprive the Romans of any one of those accessories of their public worship to which they attached so great value. They have even suffered the church of Saint Peter to retain the income of which it was before possessed: its canons enjoy their prebends, hold their chapters, and attend the choir, as in time past. No alteration has been made in the vesture of the priests or friars: the proscription has been confined to the dignity and decorations of the cardinals, because their order was a surreptitious interpolation on the true ecclesiastical hierarchy, and they constituted rather the political than the spiritual council of the pontiff. Respect was paid, in Saint Peter's, even to that famous *sacred door* which was never opened but once in every twenty-five years; and over it are still read the words, "*Pius VI. anno 1775 aperuit et clausit* *." Nothing was removed except those fastidious inscriptions with which the pontiffs had decorated the profane edifices occupied as

* Pius VI. opened and shut [this door] in the year 1775.

the seats of their personal residence : and the portal of Saint Peter's cathedral still informs the passenger that to the care of Paul V. the arts and religion are indebted for that immortal monument.

The new government has particularly preserved two establishments of a purely temporal nature, in which the whole Roman people were interested—the two banks known by the names of the *monte-di-pietà* and the *Spirito-Santo*.

The former of these had originally been nothing more than a bank where money was lent on pawns, and which issued notes or *cedole* representing the value of the property that it received. In process of time it degenerated from its primitive institution : its notes were multiplied far beyond the extent of its capital ; and there is no exaggeration in asserting, that, toward the conclusion of Pius's pontificate, above four fifths of that paper-money were unsecured by pledges. The hospital of the *Spirito-Santo*, on the contrary, possesses very considerable revenues. It had acquired great credit, received deposits of money, circulated its notes, and paid them without difficulty on presentation. In these latter times, that salutary institution had been utterly perverted : the amount of its notes far exceeded that of its funds ; and nothing but small notes, with barely the balance

in specie, could be obtained of it in exchange of its larger paper. To provide for his extravagant expenses, Pius had greatly augmented the debts of that establishment.

It was a task of no small difficulty for the new government to remedy so many disorders, especially at the epoch of a revolution which necessarily demanded an increase of expenditure. At its outset, however, it grasped such resources as circumstances presented to it: in the first place it assumed the inheritance of all the domains belonging to the extinct government, and of the property administered by the Apostolic Chamber: to these were added the possessions of several religious communities, whose abolition was effected without violent means. This reform was begun by sending away from Rome all the foreign monks and friars, by whose removal the multitudinous swarms of those pious drones were reduced above one third. In consequence of this measure, several communities were reduced to two or three members: a certain number of these were united in one place; and the possessions of the vacant convents were declared to be national property. Another species became, by confiscation, French property; such as those of the duke Braschi. Those of both descriptions were exposed to sale: but the former, inspiring the purchasers with less confi-

dence, were not sold at above seven or eight years' purchase, whereas the latter produced ten or twelve times their annual value.

In the *cedole* the government naturally foresaw a source of embarrassment. To raise their value a little, it strove to open a channel to drain them from circulation, and accepted them at par to the amount of one third of the purchase of the national property. But this measure appearing to throw too great a burden on a treasury which could not afford to suffer any losses, in a short time the *cedole* were not taken at any higher rate than that at which they passed in the ordinary course of exchange.

To supply the city with provisions was one of the principal objects which engaged the anxious attention of the government in its outset; and here it reaped the bitter fruits of the disastrous administration to which it had succeeded. Compelled to have recourse to the ruinous expedients which we had employed in 1794, it bought up corn at a high price, and retailed it at a loss.

But how was it to provide for this expense, and for all the others concomitant on the revolution? The first plan adopted was that of imposing a tax on capital, and to exact three per cent from all those who possessed estates exceeding five thousand crowns in value. But the col-

lection of this supply proceeded slowly, and the public necessities each day became more and more urgent: it was therefore found necessary to call in the aid of those enormous contributions levied on the principal families of Rome—revolutionary measures, it is true—measures fraught with ruin even to the multitude, since they compelled those families to curtail their expenses, to leave their domestics destitute of occupation, their tradesmen destitute of business, their workmen destitute of employment. But the circumstances were imperious: nor is it easy to remedy the inveterate evils generated by a radically defective administration: it is not the work of a few months to re-animate agriculture and industry, paralysed by several successive centuries of ignorance and supine neglect.

What will nevertheless astonish all those who were acquainted with the deplorable condition of the Ecclesiastical State, is the exertions which it was able to bear even after the dismemberment of its two richest provinces, the legations of Bologna and Ferrara. By this loss the Holy See had expiated its first offences against the French republic. A second time it aroused her resentment: our army advanced as far as Tolentino: a contribution of thirty-five millions was demanded: the court of Rome found means

to furnish it, partly in specie, partly in diamonds which at first were admitted as part of the payment: afterward the value of the diamonds was excluded from the account; and the pope was obliged to complete in cash the full amount of the contribution. To this sum if we add the requisitions in kind, the produce of pillage, the spoils of churches, the taxes imposed on the principal families, &c. &c. we shall not be guilty of exaggeration in asserting, that, from that country apparently so poor, there have been drawn by various modes nearly two hundred millions of livres*. It is true, indeed, that its means are now exhausted—that the chief sources of its artificial wealth are dried up—that speedy diligence must be exerted to open others, as the only expedient to save that state from falling to dissolution at the very moment of its reviviscence. One of the most effectual measures for warding off that calamity is to recall the fine arts which have been banished by the revolutionary tumult from that land which seems to be their true birth-place. Even without awaiting the return of peace, the new government have already bestowed their attention on that desirable object, and their efforts have been seconded by France.

* Above eight millions sterling.

It is some months since the French directory have called for the resurrection of that academy of painting, sculpture, and architecture, from which have come forth some of the great geniuses that reflect lustre on our country. It was proposed to complete the establishment by the association of music: the Roman republic has even created funds for its support, and assigned to it a revenue of sixty-thousand livres to be taken from the thirty millions placed at her disposal.

But that revenue, and the establishment itself, will be of precarious duration so long as the Roman republic remains unconsolidated. If it should be shaken by new convulsions—if the prospect of its permanency should still continue doubtful—if internal and external dangers should threaten its existence, and banish from it the security and leisure of peace—there would then be strong reason to fear lest that capital of the arts should lie buried under the ruins of the papacy.

We have now conducted the pontificate of Pius VI. even beyond that catastrophe which, in prematurely inflicting on it the stroke of death, has frustrated all the calculations of probability. We have also assisted at the subversion of his temporal throne, and the first opera-

tions of the popular government who have seated themselves in his place. The head of the Roman church still exists for the faithful: but the despot of Rome has disappeared. A few reflexions on that singular event shall conclude our work.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Conclusion.

HISTORY abounds with events which elude the eye of common foresight, and even take sagacity itself unaware. The subversion of the pontifical throne cannot appear surprising except to those who are void of reflexion. Its long duration is much more astonishing than its rapid fall: an assertion whose truth is proved to demonstration by the series of facts which we have related.

For the artificial existence of the government of the Ecclesiastical State, justly comparable to a colossus with feet of clay, no other cause could be assigned than the illusion by which it was environed. But, within the last fifty years in particular, how many circumstances concurred in dissipating that illusion!—the abolition of the Society of Jesus—the progress of philosophy, so formidable to sacred prejudices—the efforts of almost all the sovereigns to strip the Holy See of its usurpations—the continuity and impunity of their successes, &c. &c.

The pontiff's temporal authority was so intimately interwoven with the divinity of his mission, that it was impossible to render the latter doubtful without rendering the former precarious. An elective sovereign, elevated to the throne at the approach of old age and condemned to die without posterity, could not strike deep roots around him, or increase his respectability by alliances. His family, taking advantage of his transient splendor, might indeed excite envy, but could not, like those of other sovereigns, derive numerous supports from the operation of hope, from the permanency of their influence, from that respect which is mechanically paid to nobility of blood. Thus the sceptred pontiff stood isolated in the midst of his court, and had no other support than the superstitious zeal to which he was indebted for his exaltation. His interests were connected only with those of religion: through it he ruled; and with it he must fall, unaided by any auxiliaries except the obscure and impotent herd of devotees.

The personal talents of the pope could alone compensate the fragility of the foundations on which his throne rested. But what could be expected of a pontiff who, by the tedious duration of his reign, fatigued the impatience of his presumptive successors—alienated the minds of the

people by his exactions—disgusted all ranks by the crying abuses of nepotism—successively lost all those prerogatives which had ever been deemed sacred—and, by his errors as well as his reverses, convinced even the vulgar throng that the vicar of Jesus-Christ was but a frail mortal?

In endowing Pius with some virtues which would have rendered him an estimable character in a private station, nature had refused him all those great qualities which support a throne in tempestuous times, especially that providence which prepares its possessor to meet anticipated events, and that dexterity which enables him to elude their influence. He had not even those energetic vices which sometimes procure a pardon for criminal deeds. To be able to face the existing circumstances, he ought to have united the moderation of Benedict XIV. with the firmness of Sixtus V.: but Pius's moderation was never any other than timidity—his firmness, than transient obstinacy.

If indeed, himself incapable of guiding the reins of government with a vigorous hand, he had resigned them to a minister of superior ability—if he had possessed the art of combining in association the ambition of the great and the assent of the people—all might yet have been well with him. But this was not the case: on

the contrary, his mistrust and vanity excluding all those who would have been able to afford assistance to his incapacity, Pius neither knew how to sway the sceptre himself nor suffer it to be swayed by others.

Under his long pontificate, the sinews of that government which of itself was so enervate, became still farther relaxed. No vigilance was discernible in the police, no severity in the proceedings of justice, no order in the finances. There was nobody at Rome to command, nobody to obey. The ministers themselves felt and acknowledged their impotence: seldom was an instance discovered of their wish to injure—more seldom still, of their energy. They had more than once been heard to say, with pitiful ingenuoufness, in answer to reclamations which they allowed to be just, “ We will give orders ; “ but we are sure that they will not be executed.”

The grandees of the Ecclesiastical State were neither the adversaries nor the supporters of that pusillanimous government. Without feeling any interest in its prosperity, they lived, with respect to it, in the most apathic neutrality. The splendor of their race, and their great fortunes, might have given them at least some influence: but effeminacy and slavery had rendered them so de-

generate that they would not have made any greater efforts to produce a revolution in Rome than they did to prevent it. They stood an unresisting prey for the first invader, whether he came with views of conquest or of emancipation. At the approach of the French army, they advanced to meet liberty, not with the enthusiasm of men worthy of its blessings, but with the docility of slaves. Fortunately for themselves, fortunately for the people, none of the nobles made any attempt at resistance: and their passive acquiescence is attributable still less to their want of energy than to their profound indifference for the government under which they lived.

Nevertheless, with such supports, with troops whose composition and discipline were become proverbial, with a discontented people, Pius dared to provoke the French republic. Twice he had disdained to overturn his tottering throne: its subversion was not an exploit whence he could hope to derive an accession of glory: is the axe employed to cut down reeds? But an additional crime decided the doom of the Ecclesiastical State. And although it should be proved that Pius had no direct participation in that criminal deed, 'tis to him nevertheless, to his want of skill, his improvidence, his blind obstinacy, his fanatic provocations, that we must at-

tribute every thing which prepared and accelerated the catastrophe of which he has fallen the victim. Under him, the Roman state had for many years been gradually perishing in slow agonies: at the frown of exasperate France, it only completed the act of dying which was already begun.

It will never experience a resurrection, whatever may be the events which Italy is doomed to witness. The faithful catholics may yet continue to bestow the appellation of "pope" on their spiritual chief, established wherever circumstances shall permit: they may, notwithstanding this new tempest by which their church has been shaken, still repeat that "the gates of the grave shall not prevail against it:" but that amphibious sovereign, half man half god—for whom the sceptre and the censer jointly challenged the homage of mankind—has for ever disappeared; and, viewed under that twofold aspect, he will be regretted by none.

Time will determine whether those who were his subjects—corrupted and enervated by every thing which can degrade the manly character—are worthy of being republicans. Whatever may be the form of the government on which they settle their choice, they will soon perceive that they could not but gain by any change; and,

convinced that their so-long-retarded regeneration could not otherwise have been effected, than by the excess of former abuses and degradation, they will perhaps at some future day bless the pontificate of Pius the Sixth.

END.

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